NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

HISTORY

MASSASOIT
ENGINEERING PEACE WITH THE PILGRIMS

STONEHENGE
MYSTERIES OF THE MEGALITHS

THE PHARAOHS' CORRESPONDENCE
EGYPT'S AMARNA LETTERS

RAPHAEL
BOY WONDER OF THE RENAISSANCE

PLUS:

The Taiping Rebellion
Religious Revolt in China

Meet the Beauty in the Beast

Discover this spectacular 6½-carat green treasure from Mount St. Helens!

For almost a hundred years it lay dormant. Silently building strength. At 10,000 feet high, it was truly a sleeping giant. Until May 18, 1980, when the beast awoke with violent force and revealed its greatest secret. Mount St. Helens erupted, sending up a 80,000-foot column of ash and smoke. From that chaos, something beautiful emerged... our spectacular ***Helenite Necklace***.

EXCLUSIVE FREE Helenite Earrings -a $129 value- with purchase of Helenite Necklace

Helenite is produced from the heated volcanic rock of Mount St. Helens and the brilliant green creation has captured the eye of jewelry designers worldwide. Today you can wear this massive 6½-carat stunner for ***only $149***!

Make your emeralds jealous. Our ***Helenite Necklace*** puts the green stone center stage, with a faceted pear-cut set in .925 sterling silver finished in luxurious gold. The explosive origins of the stone are echoed in the flashes of light that radiate as the piece swings gracefully from its 18" luxurious gold-finished sterling silver chain. Today the volcano sits quiet, but this unique piece of American natural history continues to erupt with gorgeous green fire.

Necklace enlarged to show luxurious color.

Your satisfaction is guaranteed. Bring home the ***Helenite Necklace*** and see for yourself. If you are not completely blown away by the rare beauty of this exceptional stone, simply return the necklace within 30 days for a full refund of your purchase price.

JEWELRY SPECS:

- 6 ½ ctw Helenite in gold-finished sterling silver setting
- 18" gold-finished sterling silver chain

Limited to the first 2200 orders from this ad only

Helenite Necklace (6 ½ ctw) ..... *Only* **$149** +S&P
Helenite Stud Earrings (1 ctw)..... **$129** +S&P
Helenite Set ~~$278~~... *Call-in price only* **$149** +S&P
(Set includes necklace and earrings)

Call now to take advantage of this extremely limited offer.

1-800-333-2045

Promotional Code HEL990-04
Please mention this code when you call.

ACCREDITED BUSINESS BBB Rating of A+

"My wife received more compliments on this stone on the first day she wore it than any other piece of jewelry I've ever given her."

- J. from Orlando, FL
Stauer Client

Stauer® 14101 Southcross Drive W., Ste 155, Dept. HEL990-04, Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 **www.stauer.com**

Smart Luxuries—Surprising Prices™

Four hundred years ago, the *Mayflower* landed in North America and delivered to its shores a group of English colonists known as the Pilgrims. They described the land as a "hideous, desolate wilderness full of beasts and wild men." This description of a place devoid of progress came to be widely accepted, but it was wrong. This so-called New World was actually quite old and bursting with civilizations.

Native Americans had been living in what is now the northeastern United States for centuries before Europeans arrived. They developed rich, sophisticated cultures and intense rivalries with each other, but their history prior to the 1600s remains unfamiliar ground to most, while the colonists' perspective is still well-trod territory.

Delving into the life of the Wampanoag leader Ousamequin, commonly known as Massasoit, reveals some of these intricacies. In his role as sachem, Ousamequin had to balance many competing interests to protect his people: He faced threats from local rivals like the Narragansett, foreign European enslavers, and devastating illnesses—which all shaped the choices and strategy he employed as leader. But his is only one voice, and there are many more Wampanoag who still need to be heard if the history of North America and all the people who live here is to be fully told.

Amy Briggs

Amy Briggs, Executive Editor

JOHN GREIM/AGE FOTOSTOCK

Statement of Ownership, Management, and Monthly Circulation of NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC HISTORY

Owner and Publisher: National Geographic Partners, LLC
Gary E. Knell, Chairman
Amy Briggs, Editor in Chief
Headquarters of Publisher and Publication:
1145 Seventeenth Street N.W., Washington, DC 20036
Stockholders; Bondholders; Mortgage; Other Security Holders: National Geographic Society and The Walt Disney Company

	AVERAGE NO. COPIES EACH ISSUE DURING PRECEDING 12 MOS.	SINGLE ISSUE NEAREST TO FILING DATE
	Nov 2019-Oct 2020	S/O 2020
A. TOTAL COPIES PRINTED		
(Net Press Run)	368,415	350,351
B. PAID CIRCULATION		
1. Outside-County Mail Subscriptions	198,012	205,389
2. In-County Mail Subscriptions	–	–
3. Single Copy Sales/ Non USPS Paid Distribution	46,821	41,344
4. Other Classes Mailed Through USPS	–	–
C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION	244,833	246,733
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION (includes samples, no news agents)		
1. Outside-County	1,939	2,069
2. In-County	–	–
3. Other Classes Mailed Through USPS	–	–
4. Free Distribution Outside the Mail	–	–
E. TOTAL FREE DISTRIBUTION	1,939	2,069
F. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION (Sum of C and E)	246,772	248,802
G. OFFICE USE, LEFTOVER, ETC.	121,643	101,549
H. TOTAL (Sum of F & G)	368,415	350,351
I. PERCENT PAID	99%	99%

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

HISTORY

EXECUTIVE EDITOR AMY E. BRIGGS

Deputy Editor JULIUS PURCELL
Editorial Consultants JOSEP MARIA CASALS (Managing Editor, *Historia* magazine), IÑAKI DE LA FUENTE (Art Director, *Historia* magazine)
VICTOR LLORET BLACKBURN (Editorial consultant and contributor)
Design Editor FRANCISCO ORDUÑA
Photography Editor MERITXELL CASANOVAS

Contributors
MARC BRIAN DUCKETT, BRADEN PHILLIPS, SEAN PHILPOTTS, SARAH PRESANT-COLLINS, CHRISTINA SHINTANI, THEODORE A. SICKLEY, JANE SUNDERLAND, ROSEMARY WARDLEY

VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER JOHN MACKETHAN

Publishing Directors
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS YULIA P. BOYLE
DEPUTY MANAGING EDITOR, *NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC* MAGAZINE AMY KOLCZAK
PUBLISHER, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC BOOKS LISA THOMAS

Advertising ROB BYRNES

Consumer Marketing and Planning ANDREW DIAMOND, KEVIN FOWLER, SUZANNE MACKAY, KATHERINE M. MILLER, CHRISTINA OLNEY, ROCCO RUGGIERI, JOHN SCHIAVONE, SUSAN SHAW, MARK VIOLA, JANET ZAVREL

Production Services JAMES ANDERSON, JULIE IBINSON, KRISTIN SEMENIUK

Customer Service SCOTT ARONSON, TRACY PELT, CHRISTINA SHORTER

FOR SUBSCRIPTION QUESTIONS, VISIT **www.nghservice.com** OR CALL 1-800-647-5463.
TO SUBSCRIBE ONLINE, VISIT **www.nationalgeographic.com.**
FOR CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS, VISIT **natgeo.com/corrections.**
WHILE WE DO NOT ACCEPT UNSOLICITED MATERIALS, WE WELCOME YOUR COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS AT **history@natgeo.com.**

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS GARY E. KNELL
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS SUSAN GOLDBERG
EVP & GM, MEDIA GROUP, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS DAVID E. MILLER
CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS AKILESH SRIDHARAN
DEPUTY CHIEF COUNSEL, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS EVELYN T. MILLER

COPYRIGHT © 2020 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PARTNERS, LLC. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. *NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC* AND YELLOW BORDER DESIGN ARE TRADEMARKS OF THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY, USED UNDER LICENSE. PRINTED IN U.S.A.

RBA

PRESIDENT RICARDO RODRIGO
EDITOR ANA RODRIGO
CORPORATE MANAGING DIRECTOR JOAN BORRELL
MANAGING DIRECTOR ÁUREA DÍAZ
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR ISMAEL NAFRÍA
INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE EDITOR SOLEDAD LORENZO
EDITORIAL COORDINATOR MÒNICA ARTIGAS
MARKETING DIRECTOR BERTA CASTELLET
CREATIVE DIRECTOR JORDINA SALVANY

National Geographic History (ISSN 2380-3878) is published bimonthly in January/February, March/April, May/June, July/August, September/October, and November/December by National Geographic Partners, LLC, 1145 17th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Volume 6, Number 5. $29 per year for U.S. delivery. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, DC, and additional mailing offices. **SUBSCRIBER:** If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. **POSTMASTER:** Send address changes to *National Geographic History*, P.O. Box 37545, Boone, IA, 50037. In Canada, agreement number 1000010298, return undeliverable Canadian addresses to *National Geographic History*, P.O. Box 819 STN Main, Markham, ON L3P 9Z9.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

HISTORY

VOL. 6 NO. 5

SNOWS OF WINTER
The sunset aligns with the sarsens of Stonehenge on the December solstice, the shortest day of the year in the Northern Hemisphere.

Features

14 The Living Rock of Stonehenge
The iconic structure on England's Salisbury Plain is the centerpiece of a much larger complex of massive earthworks, timber henges, and interconnected lanes built for mysterious rituals in the Stone Age.

32 Pharaohs' Dramatic Dispatches
Discovered in the 1880s near the ruins of Akhenaten's capital city, a cache of ancient letters reveals the rituals and details of diplomacy between Egyptian pharaohs and the kings of Babylonia and Assyria.

44 Hadrian's Passion for Athens
A lover of Greek history, Roman emperor Hadrian made Athens his favorite city over all others in his empire. He gave it magnificent monuments while Athenians, in return, worshipped him as a god.

56 Raphael, Prince of Painters
In the 500 years since his death, the art of Raffaello Sanzio has enchanted every age with its beauty and grace. His masterpieces range from the grandeur of "The School of Athens" to the intimate charms of his Madonnas.

74 Massasoit and the Pilgrims
Known today as Massasoit, the sachem of the Wampanoag people navigated complex relationships with Europeans and Native Americans to create a peace with the English that lasted for 40 years.

RAPHAEL, SELF-PORTRAIT, 1504-06. UFFIZI GALLERIES, FLORENCE

Departments

4 NEWS
A major DNA study in South America has found genetic continuity over two millennia despite centuries of war and conquest. The data will help shed light on the ruling regimes before the arrival of the conquistadores.

6 PROFILES
French archaeologist Jane Dieulafoy broke the rules when she put on pants in the field and at home, but her impressive finds in Persia, including the Frieze of Archers in Susa, made the French government look the other way.

10 MILESTONES
Led by a self-proclaimed messiah, the Taiping Rebellion upended China for 14 years before ending in 1864. Fueled by poverty and corruption, the revolt was dedicated to social equality, and it would influence China's communists in the 1940s.

90 DISCOVERIES
Found in 1971, an ancient Iberian statue of a bejeweled woman captured the imagination of Spain. Sculpted as a funeral urn in the fourth century B.C., the Lady of Baza yields vital clues about a mysterious 2,400-year-old culture.

A SKULL (above) recovered near the Akapana Pyramid (right) in Bolivia, dates to about A.D. 1000, around the time of the collapse of the Tiwanaku empire. The skull was one of nearly 90 skeletal remains from many archaeological sites around the Andes that provided the foundation for the ancient DNA study.

GUIDO VALVERDE

NG MAPS

DNA SAMPLES were sequenced from 22 sites (each shown above) in the Andes, including the south Peruvian Highlands and Bolivia's Titicaca Basin, home to the Tiwanaku. The samples date from 9,000 to 500 years ago.

GENOMES

Ancient DNA Reveals Insights in the Andes

The first wide-scale genomic sequencing in the South American region finds genetic continuity despite 2,000 years of cultural upheaval.

Unlike prehistoric Europe, where major migrations from Africa, the Middle East, and Asia produced remarkable genetic variability, a recent study of ancient human DNA in the Andean region of South America has revealed a different story: Except in large urban centers, the genetic makeup of the Andean populations remained relatively constant for 2,000 years.

The study is the first broad survey of the genomic history of civilizations in the central Andes (centered on modern-day Peru) before European contact and Spanish conquest in the 1500s. The Inca had ruled the region, but the central Andes saw other powers rise and fall: the Chimú, from A.D. 900 to 1470, when they were conquered by the Inca; the Tiwanaku and Wari until A.D. 1000; the Moche and Nasca before them; and the Chavín from 900 to 200 B.C. Despite these changes, the people's DNA remained relatively unaffected.

THE AKAPANA PYRAMID IN TIWANAKU, BOLIVIA, IS MADE OF EARTH AND FACED WITH STONE. THE TIWANAKU EMPIRE FLOURISHED A.D. 200-1000.

IVÁN VIEITO GARCÍA/ALAMY

ANCIENT EMPIRE OF THE ANDES

THE INCA are perhaps the best known culture that ruled this region of the Andes, but one of their predecessors, the Tiwanaku empire, laid a strong foundation for its greatness. In the lands surrounding Lake Titicaca, the Tiwanaku empire came to power around A.D. 200. Between 30,000 and 70,000 people lived in its capital city, located some 12,000 feet above sea level. Connected by a system of roads (which the Inca would later capitalize on), the empire extended up and down the coast, including lands in present day southern Peru, western Bolivia, and northern Chile. Tiwanaku's art and architecture spread throughout the region before disappearing around A.D. 1000, when the empire collapsed.

A CARVED STONE HEAD EMBEDDED IN THE WALLS OF **TIWANAKU'S SEMISUBTERRANEAN TEMPLE COURT**

DIEGO RAYACES PÉREZ/ALAMY

Pending Questions

The finding raises new questions for researchers. If invasions led to the demise of cultures in the pre-Inca Andes, they did not bring the population-mixing seen in ancient European populations. Even though there were changes in administrative rule, no major migration may have occurred.

"Future studies are necessary to provide positive evidence for or against other particular models for the collapse of these cultures," said Nathan Nakatsuka, a doctoral student in genetics at Harvard Medical School and first author of the study, published in the scientific journal *Cell*.

"Other potential models are political instability, or socioeconomic changes tied to climate change," Nakatsuka said. The Nasca, for example, located on the southern Peruvian coast, are believed to have been wiped out by severe floods caused by the El Niño pattern around A.D. 750. The researchers hope that, combined with archaeological research and climate modeling, genetic data can play a role in resolving these questions.

The study also found that genetic distinctions developed early, despite the relatively small geographic distances. By 9,000 years ago, groups in the Andean highlands became genetically distinct from those along the Pacific coast. By 5,800 years ago, highland populations diverged into north and south substructures—differences still seen today.

Following that period, there was small-scale gene flow among Andean regions until it slowed to a very low variability 2,000 years ago. Lars Fehren-Schmitz, a paleogenomicist at the University of California, Santa Cruz, said the new study is a jumping-off point for new research into Andean genetics: "I think we have a baseline understanding now that will help us test archaeological theories and tackle specific questions."

Jane Dieulafoy, France's Superstar Archaeologist

This 19th-century French iconoclast put on pants and became a celebrity—not only for discovering treasures in ancient Persia, but also for her unique partnership with her husband.

Her Life of Adventure

1851

Jane Magre is born in Toulouse. She will wed Marcel Dieulafoy in 1870 and fight beside him in the Franco-Prussian War.

1881-83

Jane and Marcel's mission to Persia to explore Susa is thwarted, but Jane publishes her diary and photos to acclaim.

1884-86

On a second expedition to Susa, Jane discovers the Frieze of Lions and the Frieze of Archers from the palace of Darius I.

1916

Jane dies in France on May 25 after falling ill in Morocco, where she had accompanied Marcel to take part in World War I.

An archaeologist, explorer, and writer in fin de siècle France, Jane Dieulafoy was awarded two remarkable distinctions by the French government in her lifetime: the Legion of Honor, France's highest civilian award, and special legal permission to wear men's clothing in public.

Born Jane Magre in 1851 in the southern French city of Toulouse, Dieulafoy grew up in a traditional family and inherited their social and religious values. She was a devout Catholic who opposed divorce, and a patriot who broke rules to fight for her country. Her conservative stances partly explain why she was "never denigrated as a hysteric or a pervert, more likely labels for 19th-century women in pants," said Rachel Mesch, author of a biographical study of Dieulafoy, *Before Trans: Three Gender Stories From 19th-Century France*.

The other reason her preferences were accepted was her very close, 46-year marriage with the distinguished civil engineer Marcel-Auguste Dieulafoy, and the stunning archaeological discoveries both made at the ancient capital of Susa in western Iran. Their work provided the Louvre Museum with unique artifacts for a new wing devoted to Iran that opened in 1888. From then on, the press referred to Dieulafoy as simply "the intrepid explorer who wears men's suits."

Soldier Jane

Jane met Marcel in their hometown of Toulouse in 1869, soon after she finished her education at a convent outside Paris; her studies had encompassed history, ancient and modern languages, art, and painting. After Marcel returned from Algeria to oversee infrastructure repairs, they married in May 1870.

In Marcel, Jane found the ideal companion, someone with a passion for architecture and travel, who also accepted her on her own terms. Two months later, the Franco-Prussian War broke out, and Marcel enlisted as a captain of engineers. Jane wanted to join him, but not in the role of the *cantinières,* the women who brought food and water to soldiers. She wanted to fight and managed to become a sharpshooter by using a loophole that exempted those in that role from army regulations. She cut her hair, donned a sharpshooter's uniform, and faced battle.

After the war, in May 1871, Jane returned to Toulouse, wore skirts again, and grew out her short hair. Marcel resumed working as a civil engineer. Within a few years, the renowned French

Mme Jane DIEULAFOY
A SUSE
JOURNAL DES FOUILLES
135 Gravures sur bois et une Carte
Prix Broché : 30 fr.
EN VENTE ICI
Prix Relié : 40 fr.

Marcel's tome on Persian art won prestige, but Jane's travelogues and lectures made her a celebrity.

NEWSPAPER FROM THE EXCAVATIONS AT SUSA. HACHETTE, 1888 AKG/ALBUM

WEARING PANTS IN FRANCE

JANE DIEULAFOY defied a 100-year-old law when she donned trousers. It had been illegal for Parisian women to wear pants since November 1800. Historians believe the rule was a response to women's demand for *"Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité"* and the right to hold male jobs and wear male clothing. In the late 19th century, exceptions were granted for people engaged in bicycle riding or horseback riding. Jane Dieulafoy's privilege of wearing pants all the time was uncommon, but her celebrity made her nonconformity more socially accepted. The law remained in place until 2013, when it was formally revoked by the French government.

JANE DIEULAFOY, LATE 19TH CENTURY
ENSBA/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

architect Viollet-le-Duc put Marcel in charge of the city's historical monuments. The Dieulafoys shared an interest in Islamic art and culture, and between 1873 and 1878 made several architectural tours to Egypt and Morocco.

Viollet-le-Duc encouraged Marcel to investigate the links between European Gothic architecture and Middle Eastern or Islamic architecture. In 1879, when Marcel was granted leave from his position to travel to Persia, Jane threw herself into the study of Persian history and Farsi, bought a camera, and took a course in photography in preparation for the trip.

Pull of Persia

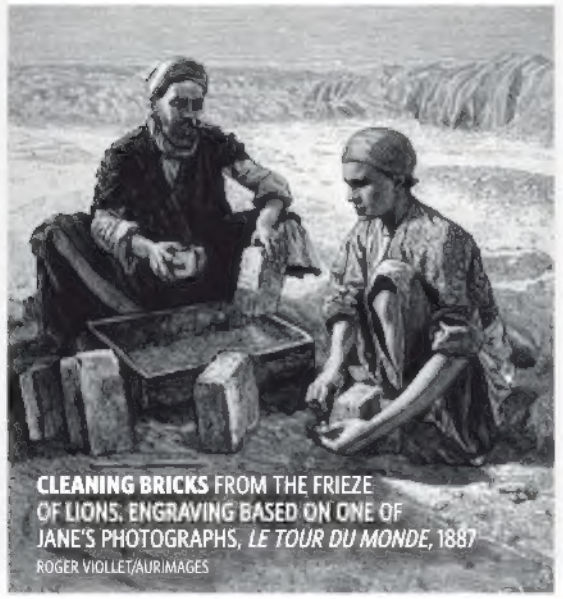
In February 1881 Jane and Marcel began their first epic 3,700-mile journey to Persia with the goal of reaching Susa. For convenience's sake, the 30-year-old Jane dressed as a man once more, which allowed her to travel through Persia without having to adhere to local traditions for women. She wore no veil and rode on horseback without an escort. The couple battled illness, insects, thieves, and poor roads, and made it to Susa in January 1882. Worn out and short of funds, they could not contend with heavy rains and returned.

Throughout the journey, Jane kept detailed diaries and photographed architecture and monuments. She also photographed everyday people. Assertions that her unique status as a woman dressed as a man enabled her to move freely in harems to photograph their residents is hard to credit, scholars say. In fact, no such photograph has been found.

Her diaries were published in the French travel magazine, *Le Tour du Monde,* illustrated with photographs and sketches. Her work became hugely popular, putting her on the A-list for the lecture circuit. Having made her mark

MOUNTAINS OF BRICKS

ON DISCOVERY, the Frieze of Lions and the Frieze of Archers were nothing more than heaps of bricks. Seeing herself as their "archaeological mother," Jane Dieulafoy managed organizing and labeling the pieces for reassembly. Both remain major draws at the Louvre Museum, Paris.



CLEANING BRICKS FROM THE FRIEZE OF LIONS, ENGRAVING BASED ON ONE OF JANE'S PHOTOGRAPHS, *LE TOUR DU MONDE*, 1887
ROGER VIOLLET/AURIMAGES

FRIEZE OF ARCHERS (DETAIL) MADE OF GLAZED BRICK, FROM THE PALACE OF DARIUS I IN SUSA, WESTERN IRAN, SIXTH CENTURY B.C.
H. LEWANDOWSKI/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

in travel writing, Jane went on to write successful historical novels. The French composer Camille Saint-Saëns later turned one of these—*Parysatis* (1890), about the queen of ancient Persia—into an opera with Jane providing the libretto. In addition, her photographs illustrated Marcel's five-volume *Ancient Art of Persia,* published 1884–89.

Return to Susa

The couple's research won them the support of Louis de Ronchaud, director of France's National Museums, and in 1884 with the backing of the Louvre and the French government, the couple returned to Susa.

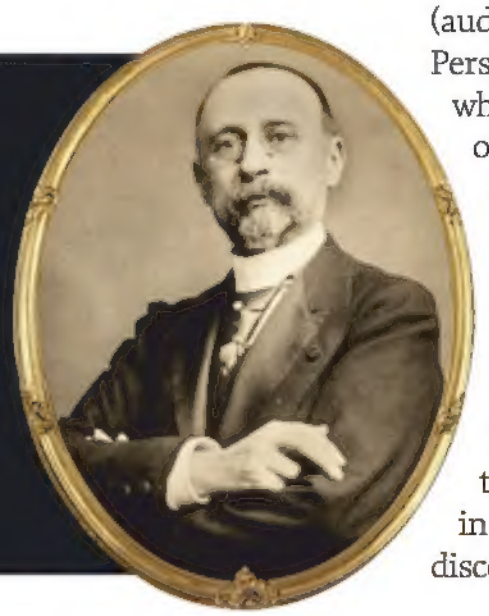
More than three decades before, in 1851, the British archaeologist William Kennett Loftus had first identified Susa as the biblical site of Shushan, making it one of the world's oldest cities. According to his work, it was continuously inhabited from the late fifth millennium B.C. until the 13th century A.D.

Loftus made a plan of the ruins, which included the Tomb of Daniel, the biblical prophet. He also conducted limited excavations in 1854–55, locating the *apadana* (audience hall) of a palace built by the Persian king Darius I (r. 522–486 B.C.), who made it the administrative capital of his empire, and was later restored by Artaxerxes II (r. 404–359 B.C.).

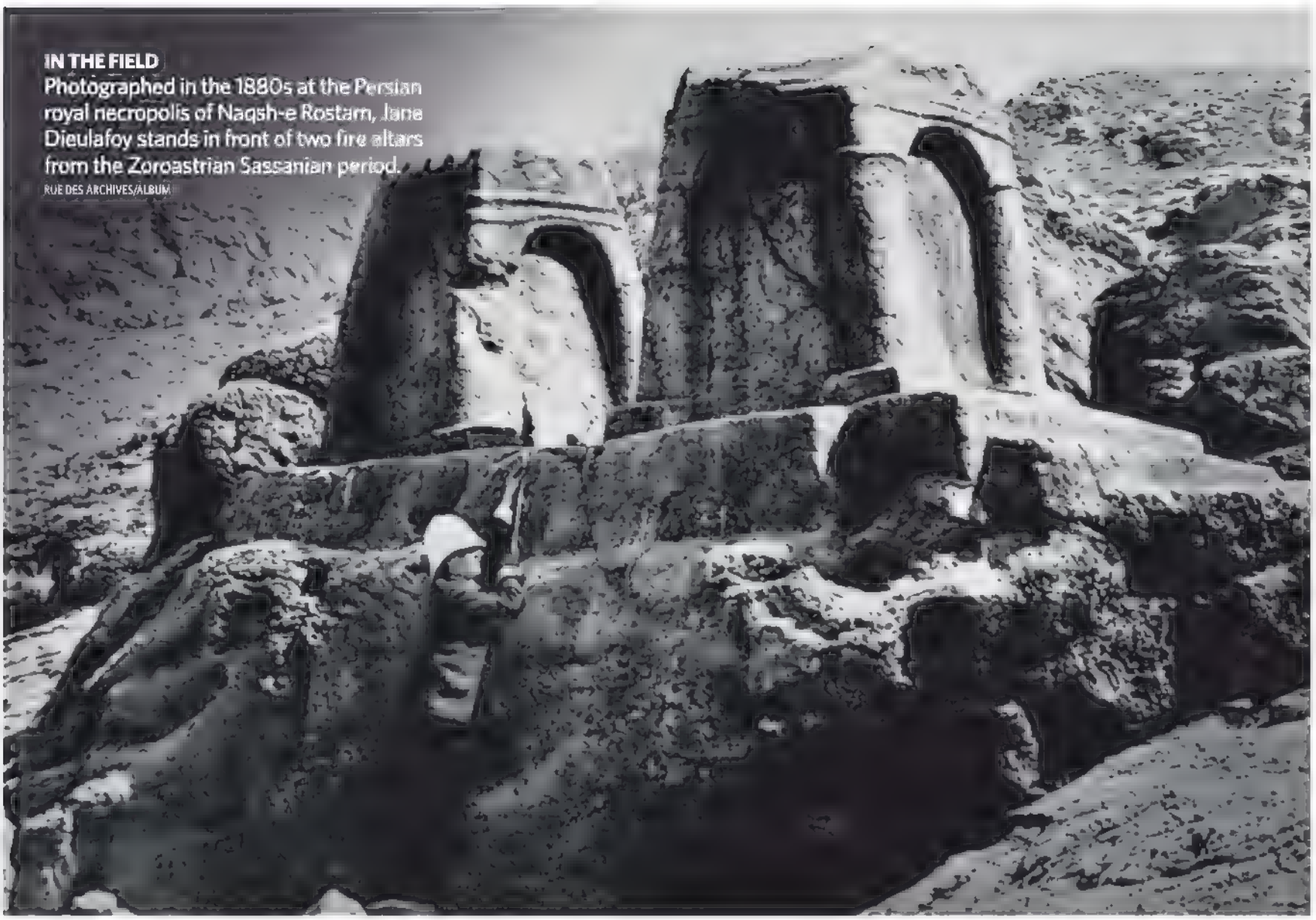
Thirty years later, Jane and Marcel made the discoveries that had eluded Loftus. Excavations began in February 1885 and ended in 1886, with the approval of Naser al-Din, Shah of Persia (who at first refused to believe that Jane was a woman) in exchange for part of whatever was discovered, especially any gold and silver.

PARTNERSHIP

JANE AND MARCEL loved each other dearly and were rarely apart. They addressed each other using *compagnon* and *compagne,* masculine and feminine forms of the French word for "companion." Historians have found researching their relationship challenging: Very little correspondence between them exists because they were always together.



ENGINEER AND ARCHITECT. MARCEL DIEULAFOY, CIRCA 1900 AURIMAGES



IN THE FIELD
Photographed in the 1880s at the Persian royal necropolis of Naqsh-e Rostam, Jane Dieulafoy stands in front of two fire altars from the Zoroastrian Sassanian period.
RUE DES ARCHIVES/ALBUM

One aspect of the agreement was a promise not to excavate the Tomb of Daniel, which locals feared would incur divine wrath. Jane and Marcel, however, had their eyes on the palace; they hired some 300 locals to do the excavating. Jane kept tabs on the work and recorded the artifacts that came to light, most of which dated to the time of Darius I, under whom the Persian Empire reached its peak, expanding from the Nile and the Aegean in the west to modern Pakistan.

The first great discovery at Susa was a frieze of glazed bricks that decorated the palace, depicting a series of roaring lions. Jane managed excavations in that area, which soon yielded fragments of the 70-foot-tall columns that supported the roof of the apadana. Alongside were remnants of bulls' heads that had crowned each of them. Soon after, they found the famous Frieze of Archers.

Carrying bows and arrows, these warriors depicted in gleaming bricks of blue and green, became Jane's obsession. As Mesch says in her biography, she regarded the archers as her *fils*, "sons" in French. Painstakingly making the pieces whole again, Jane wrote of how she was bringing back to life "the glorious past of the great kings with my own hands."

"I have a special recipe for figuring out where the enamel fragments belong," she wrote, describing how she would leave the pieces in front of her before bed, and when she woke up in the morning they would seem to fall magically into place. When the excavation was complete, some 30 mules and more than 40 camels helped transport the 45 tons of material to the ship that took them to France.

Last Years

Back home, Jane and Marcel were feted by Parisian society and treated as celebrities. In 1886 the French government awarded Jane the Legion of Honor, one of the nation's highest accolades. Rather than revert back to dresses as she had after the Franco-Prussian War, Jane decided to keep wearing men's attire and keep her hair short. She petitioned the French government and was granted official permission to wear pants.

The couple spent many of their remaining years together traveling in Spain and North Africa. In 1912 Jane uncovered the ruins of a 12th-century mosque at Hasan, Morocco. When World War I broke out in 1914, Jane campaigned for women to take auxiliary positions in the military, freeing more men to fight.

At age 70, Marcel felt compelled to enlist, and Jane went with him to Morocco. She fell ill and returned to France. The devoted couple were separated from each other at this time of personal and national crisis. Jane died without Marcel in May 1916, at the age of 64. He survived his partner by four years and died in 1920.

—Raúl Sánchez & Arnaud Déroche

THE TAIPING REBELS can be seen retreating across a bridge pursued by Chinese imperial forces during the battle at Ruizhou in 1857. This work is one of a 20-part series of 19th-century paintings commemorating the Taiping Rebellion.

China in Turmoil: The Taiping Rebellion

As colonial forces warred with imperial China, more than a million peasants rallied behind a self-proclaimed messiah, whose ideology would shape China far beyond his 14 years of revolt.

Failure of a civil service exam led to one of the most important political events in Chinese history: the Taiping Rebellion. This social and spiritual upheaval of the mid-19th century was led by Hong Xiuquan, who was born in 1814 in the Guangdong Province of China. Hong's academic struggles put him on the path to religious zealotry and leadership of peasants of southeastern China in a mass movement that threatened the security of the ruling Qing dynasty and led to the deaths of millions.

Hong's family belonged to a marginalized ethnic group, the Hakka, who had their origins in northern China but migrated to the southern regions in the 13th century. The Hakka retained their own separate culture and never fully blended into the local culture in southern China. Their traditions and language remained distinct.

Hong Xiuquan's family and friends saw great promise in this son and made great financial sacrifices to fund his education. If he were able to pass the Confucian civil service examination, Hong could become a government official, which would bring both wealth and prestige to his people.

Tests and Trials

To take the exams, Hong had to travel to the provincial capital, Guangzhou. He first took the exam there in 1827 but failed; he returned home and earned his living as a schoolteacher. Hong did not give up and made two more trips to the city to take the exam. He failed both times and suffered a nervous breakdown after his attempt in 1837. During his illness, he allegedly had

TRADITIONAL HAKKA DWELLINGS IN THE PROVINCE OF FUJIAN
ALAMY/ACI

WELL ROUNDED

THE TAIPING LEADER Hong Xiuquan was a Hakka, a people originally from China's northern province of Henan, who settled in southern China after the 13th century. A Hakka settlement in Fujian was designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2008 and features 46 *tulou,* earthen houses (either circular or square) that could house hundreds of people.

visions of visiting heaven and speaking to two holy men—one with a golden beard, the other he identified as an older brother—who warned him that the world was overrun with evil spirits. After his recovery, he returned to teaching.

Hong took the civil service exam for the fourth, and last, time in 1843 and failed again. In his despair, he consulted some literature a Christian missionary had given him on one of his previous visits to the capital. Western missionaries were common in China during this time, and Hong had encounters with several of them. Reviewing the tracts, Hong applied Christian theology to his visions and identified the bearded man as God, the older brother as Jesus, and saw himself as the second son of God who had been sent to save China from evil spirits in the form of the Qing dynasty, China's governing dynasty. He converted to Christianity and began to spread his own teachings in the region.

The Qing's Manchurian ancestors toppled the Ming dynasty two centuries before and had held power since then. Under their rule, China's population tripled, but in the 1800s the regime was challenged by the realities of an industrializing world and the growing might of colonial Europe.

During the period of Hong's religious awakening, the Qing were defeated by the British in the First Opium War, which ended in 1842. China was forced to engage in unequal trade with Britain and to give up territory, including the island of Hong Kong. This humiliating defeat, along with economic misery, widespread inequality, and the effect of Western Christian and democratic ideas, helped stoke tensions.

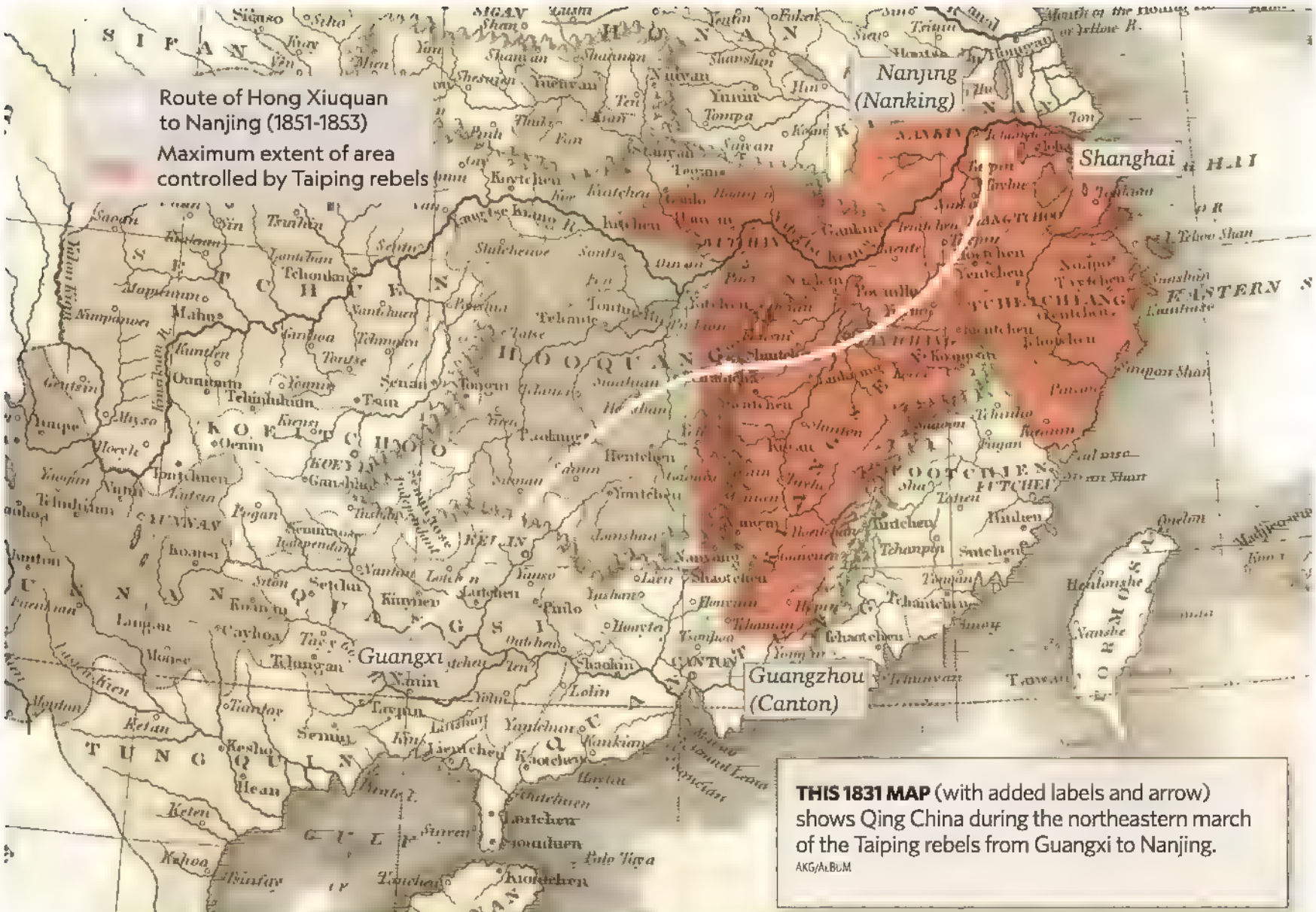
HONG XIUQUAN. A BRONZE STATUE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY IN NANJING
GEORGE BR CE/ALAMY/ACI

> Xiuquan believed he was the Messiah, and that God wanted him to carry out a divine plan

March of Millions

Hong Xiuquan first began preaching his own interpretation of Christianity among his closest circle and began to attract many followers, including a similar organization in the neighboring province of Guangxi. There, a large population of peasants, of whom many were Hakka, found hope and purpose in Hong's vision.

Political dissidents also saw it as a vehicle to resist the Qing regime. In 1851,



THIS 1831 MAP (with added labels and arrow) shows Qing China during the northeastern march of the Taiping rebels from Guangxi to Nanjing.
AKG/ALBUM

when the movement had attracted many thousands of adherents, the Taiping Tianguo—"Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace"—was established, with Hong as both its spiritual and political leader.

The Taiping had soon organized themselves and were ready to mobilize. In addition to their Christian doctrine, they believed that men and women were equal, that all property should be commonly held and distributed—ideas that were very attractive to poor farmers, laborers, and miners in the region. All members were soldiers of the kingdom, regardless of their origin and social background. Their growing numbers concerned Qing officials, and they sent forces to attack them in 1851. Taiping troops soundly defeated them. In a year, membership of the kingdom rose to a million. Overcoming Qing resistance, the Taiping pushed northeast, picking up more recruits as they marched into the Yangtze River basin.

In March 1853 the Taiping, whose numbers were around two million, captured the city of Nanjing, which they renamed Tianjing, meaning "heavenly capital." The fall of this major city marked a tremendous blow against Qing authority. Faced with the establishment of a rebel state, the Qing attempted to crush it.

Hong, meanwhile, made plans to consolidate the Heavenly Kingdom's power and planned the so-called Northern Expedition to conquer the Qing capital, Beijing. Tianjing forces left Nanjing in May 1853 and planned to recruit more followers by proselytizing along the march. Their plans were thwarted by clumsy strategic planning that wore down the participants' enthusiasm. In

A DIFFERENT DIRECTION

BY THE LATE 1850S the Taiping leadership under Hong Xiuquan's cousin, Hong Rengan, took the movement in a markedly less religious direction. Hong Rengan attempted to introduce railroads, modern banking, telegraph systems, and hospitals as part of a program to improve both trade and social equality.

COPPER COIN USED BY THE TAIPING REBELS. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON
BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

NANJING'S Buddhist temple of Jiming was founded in the sixth century A.D. It was destroyed over the course of the Taiping occupation of the city (1853-1864) and later rebuilt several times.

DUKAI PHOTOGRAPHER/GETTY

spring 1855 the Taiping began to retreat. The failure of the Northern Expedition seemed to augur an imminent fall, but the Heavenly Kingdom would prove remarkably resilient by scoring impressive military victories. Imperial troops managed to encircle Nanjing, but the outbreak of the Second Opium War between the Qing and Britain and France, distracted the government from fully putting down the rebellion.

Inner Turmoil

Despite its successes on the battlefield, intrigue and dissent plagued the Taiping court. Hong Xiuquan's mental state had been deteriorating, which prompted some of his generals and advisers to challenge him. Their efforts failed, and a violent purge followed in 1856.

Continuing political instability and some notable defeats, such as the 1857 rout of the Taiping by Qing forces at Ruizhou, further weakened the revolt. In 1859 Hong Rengan—a cousin of Xiuquan, and one of his earliest recruits—seized control of the movement and set out to modernize its government along Western democratic lines. He enacted reforms in education and prohibited prostitution, the sale of slaves, and opium. He also opened Taiping territory to trade with foreigners.

Despite some remarkable progress in these areas, the Taipings' fate was sealed by the defeat of the Qing in the Second Opium War in 1860. Having once again succumbed to European forces, the Qing found that their former assailants were now ready to offer assistance in ending the Taiping Rebellion. The rebels posed a growing threat to European economic interests in China for their frequent (albeit unsuccessful) attempts to conquer Shanghai. Foreign adventurers, such as the American Frederick Townsend Ward and the Briton Charles Gordon played key roles in rebuffing Taiping attacks on the port. Increased collaboration between the Western powers and the Qing rulers allowed influential military leaders, such as Zeng Guofan, to begin modernizing the imperial army.

Nanjing withstood two long years of siege, but in 1864, its fall looked imminent. In June that year, Hong Xiuquan committed suicide. One month later, the Qing forces entered Nanjing and took the city. The rebels were hunted down and executed. The rebellion was over.

Any pockets of Taiping resistance were wiped out, but the Taiping's legacy was deep and lasting. Qing control was so weakened by the rebellion that it would fall from power in the early 1900s, while the egalitarianism of the Taiping would go on to inspire the Chinese Communists who rose to power in the 1940s.

—J. A. Canton

SECRETS OF STONEHENGE

Surrounding the iconic English monument is a wealth of Neolithic rings, tombs, and dwellings. Recent finds have shed new light on how this ancient landscape fits together.

Massive and mysterious, Stonehenge has stood for 4,500 years on Salisbury Plain. Located some 90 miles southwest of London, England, the world's most famous prehistoric monument forms just one piece of an intricate complex of ancient sites, many of which in 1986 were designated part of a UNESCO World Heritage site. Today, traffic whizzes by on the nearby A303, but the megaliths' presence makes it easy to step back thousands of years to a much slower time with much slower transportation.

Over the last two decades, archaeologists have made huge strides in piecing together these different elements of the landscape, their relationships to each other, and what they are revealing about the Neolithic people who built them. Armed with astronomical knowledge, engineering skills, and unmovable determination, their creations succeeded in capturing people's imaginations for millennia.

Origin Stories

Perhaps the most famous—and fantastic—explanation for Stonehenge's creation harkens back to Arthurian legend. The wizard Merlin allegedly transported the stones from Ireland according to Geoffrey of Monmouth's 12th-century chronicle of British kings. Another 12th-century writer, Henry of Huntingdon, described the monument as "[s]tones of remarkable size, raised up like gates, in such a way that gates seem to be placed on top of gates. And no one can work out how the stones were so skillfully lifted up to such a height or why they were erected there." The name Stonehenge was derived from the term Henry used to describe the monument: *Stanenges,* which is Anglo-Saxon for "stone gallows."

Theories over the stones and their purpose proliferated in the 17th century. English architect Inigo Jones was convinced that Stonehenge was a Roman temple built using the principals of classical architecture. Philosopher Walter Charleton disagreed with Jones and claimed that the Vikings had built it. The scholar John Aubrey made the first thorough assessment of the site—one of the world's first true archaeological explorations—and argued that ancient British Druids had erected the megaliths. Aubrey's work in the 1660s uncovered 56 holes in the ground, arranged just inside a circular earthwork surrounding the giant standing stones. Today they are called the Aubrey Holes in his honor, and modern scholars believe that wooden posts once stood in these holes.

Work continued into the 18th century, when the scholar William Stukeley identified the Avenue, a roughly two-mile lane that connects the Avon River with Stonehenge. Like Aubrey, Stukeley considered the stone circles to have been built by Druids. Only in the 19th century did scholars begin to consider a prehistoric provenance. Based on restoration work starting in 1900, William Gowland argued for a Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age date for the creation of the complex, a proposal that has become the basis for today's scholarship.

1900 William Gowland proposes a Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age date for the creation of Stonehenge.

1920s Aerial photography reveals Woodhenge, which is excavated by Maud Cunnington between 1926 and 1929.

1950s Structures at Durrington Walls are identified. Richard Atkinson proposes Stonehenge's three-phase model.

2003-09 The Stonehenge Riverside Project's excavations uncover new ancient structures, including Bluestonehenge.

CLUB HEAD MADE OF POLISHED GNEISS. FOUND NEAR STONEHENGE
KEN GEIGER/NG IMAGE COLLECTION

Building Blocks

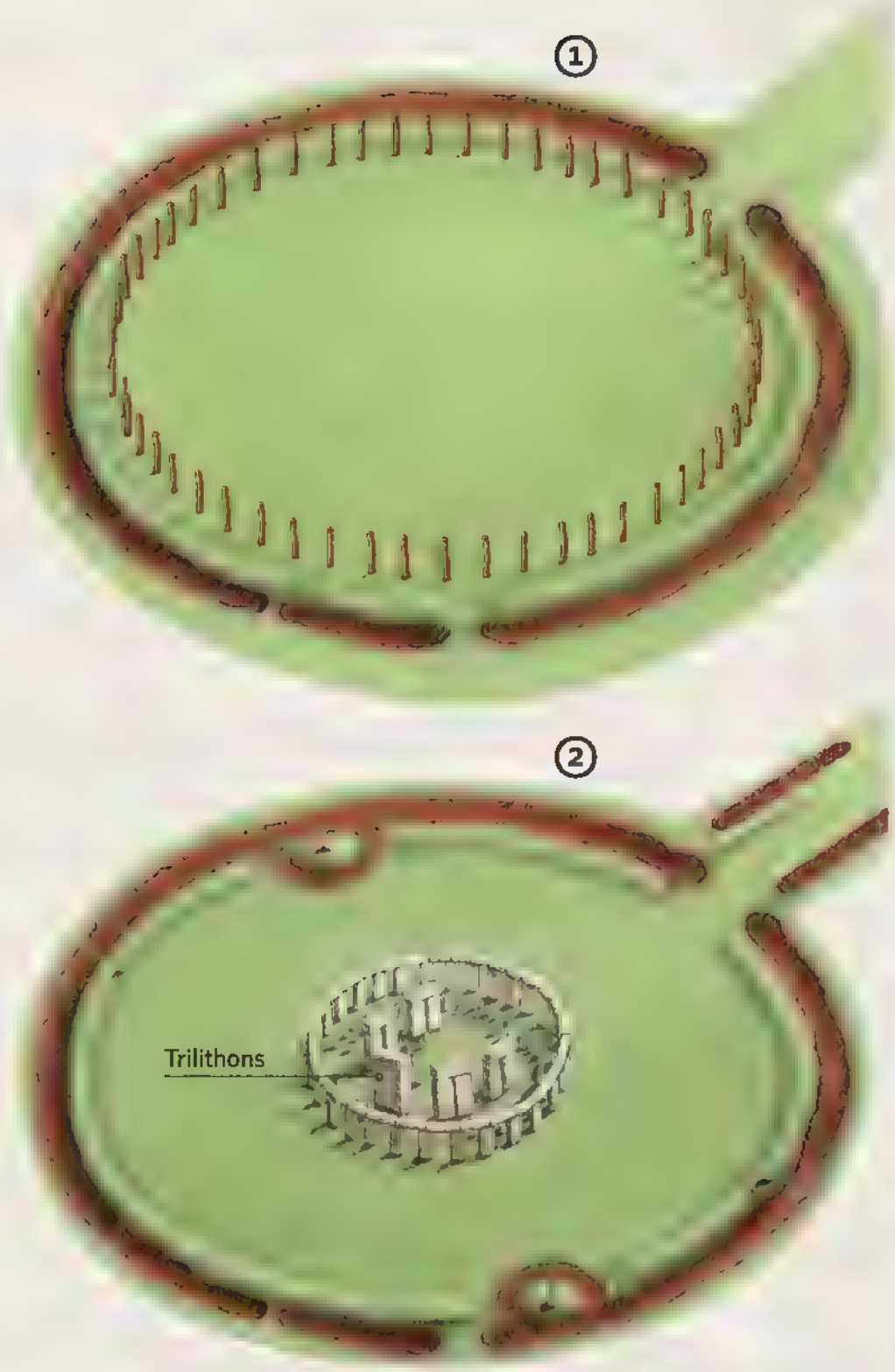
Archaeological study has revealed that one of the earliest structures found at the complex is an earthwork named the Greater Cursus, a massive trench that measures nearly two miles long and several hundred feet wide. William Stukeley was the first to identify the feature, located about a half mile north of Stonehenge. The Greater Cursus's precise purpose is unknown, but scholars believe it had a ceremonial function.

Work on the site of the iconic stone circles began centuries later, around 3000 B.C. The earliest section was an outer circular earthwork, formed by a moat and two embankments on either side. The central horseshoe made of trilithons (two upright stones topped by a lintel) and the surrounding outer ring of stones were completed around 2500 B.C. These giant building blocks, called sarsens, are sandstone. Weighing around 25 tons each, they were quarried only about 20 miles from where they are today. The 80 smaller slabs of dolerite bluestone standing alongside them came from much farther away: western Wales, a distance of about a 140 miles.

MILLENNIA IN THE MAKING

THE THREE STAGES

In the 1960s British archaeologist Richard Atkinson sketched out a multistage process through which Stonehenge evolved from a circular earthwork to the complex construction of rings of massive standing stones. Salisbury Plain was clearly regarded as a sacred space centuries before Stonehenge was built; postholes dating to around 8000 B.C. have been found nearby. On the site of Stonehenge itself, a circular earth structure surrounded by a moat was begun just before 3000 B.C. Archaeologists used carbon-14 analyses of tools, antler picks and cow-bone shovels, found in and around the moat to determine the approximate dates. In the second stage, the structures that form the stone rings were built. The third phase, which lasted many centuries, saw new stones placed, and the building of the Avenue that linked Stonehenge and the surrounding Neolithic sites in a wider ritual landscape.



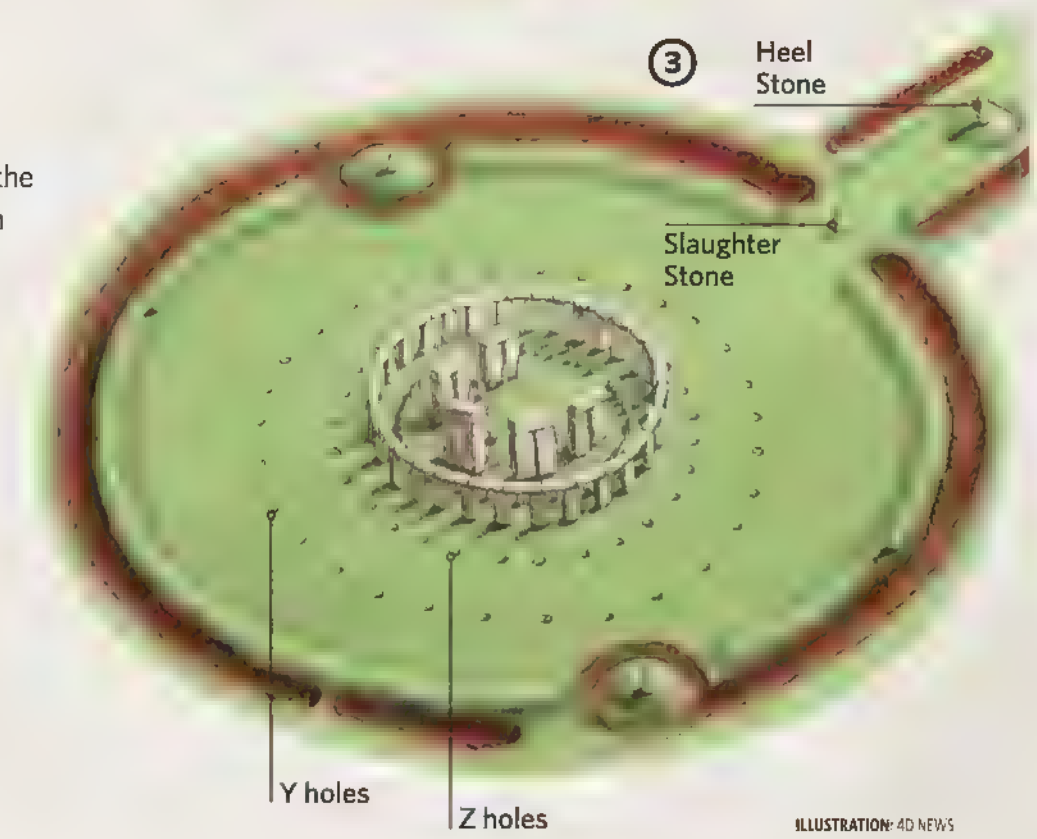


ILLUSTRATION: 4D NEWS

① FIRST STAGE (3100-2935 B.C.)
Initially, Stonehenge is formed by an exterior moat with two embankments on either side. Inside the moat, 56 pits were built (the "Aubrey Holes"). Archaeologists speculate that they held wooden posts, but there is no hard evidence to prove it.

② SECOND STAGE (2640-2480 B.C.)
The now celebrated stone circles are built: Five trilithons of sandstone sarsens are arranged in a horseshoe design in the center, surrounded by circles of bluestones. An external ring of linteled sarsens surround the interior structures.

③ THIRD STAGE (2500-1600 B.C.)
The Heel Stone and the Slaughter Stone are put in place to mark the alignment of the monument with sunrise in the summer solstice. Two rings of pits (Z and Y) are added, and the Avenue leading to the Avon River is built.

HOLY RING
This illustration re-creates the West Amesbury Circle, or Bluestonehenge, discovered in 2009 as part of the Stonehenge Riverside Project. The circle lies at the intersection of the Avenue with the Avon River.
ERE

ANCIENT TRAVELERS
Analysis of cremated human remains (below) found at Stonehenge reveals that these individuals were not locals and came to the site from far away.
ALAMY/ACI

Sacred Sites

Archaeologists today regard Stonehenge and its environs as a "ritual landscape," a group of monuments positioned in a place that had ceremonial significance. The Avenue, constructed after 2500 B.C., is one of these elements that quite literally links sacred spaces together by connecting the standing stones to the Avon River. This lane is aligned to the sunset of the winter solstice and the sunrise of the summer solstice, which has aroused questions about how much celestial knowledge the Neolithic builders employed.

Other monuments made of earth, wood, and stone connect to the iconic site in both symbolic and physical ways. About two miles northeast of Stonehenge is Durrington Walls. It is itself a complex site that consists of the remains of a huge circular earthwork. Before the earthwork was built, archaeologists believe a large village occupied the site and may have housed both workers and pilgrims. Recent finds—a series of pits about two feet deep—indicate that a massive timber structure once stood near Durrington Walls. Grouped together in an arc measuring more than a mile across, 20 pits have been excavated, and there are as many as 300 in total. Sturdy wood posts, perhaps as tall as 15 feet, once stood there, creating another iconic sight on the horizon of Salisbury Plain.

South of Durrington Walls is Woodhenge, which was identified from above in a photograph

taken by airplane pilot Gilbert Insall in 1925, one of the earliest discoveries in the field of aerial archaeology. Welsh-born archaeologist Maud Cunnington later excavated the site and revealed its structure: six concentric rings where timber posts and stones once stood.

Another more recent discovery was found by the Stonehenge Riverside Project (SRP), co-directed by Mike Parker Pearson from the University of Sheffield (and funded in part by the National Geographic Society). In 2009 the SRP announced the finding of the West Amesbury Ring, also known as Bluestonehenge. Located at the end of the Avenue closest to the Avon River, this circular structure is believed to have once consisted of six-foot-tall standing stones.

Connections

Archaeologists now believe that all of these structures were interrelated, connected by cultural relationships and spiritual meanings. The exact nature of the beliefs of the people who built these structures has, of course, been one of the principal questions asked for centuries. Between 2003 and 2009, the SRP undertook dozens of digs in the complex in an attempt to find more insight into the intentions of the builders.

What is clear is that Stonehenge and the surrounding structures all played parts in the rituals surrounding life and death. The SRP found that some 63 known cremations took place near Stonehenge, making it one of the biggest Neolithic cremation sites in Europe. Parker Pearson's team analyzed the remains of dozens of cremated individuals found in one of the Aubrey Holes and discovered that many of the individuals were not born in the region. Their findings strengthened the theory that Stonehenge drew people from all over ancient England. Parker Pearson and his team believe the complex probably acted as an early, unifying force across the region, a role that Stonehenge itself continues to play today as it draws in visitors from all over the world.

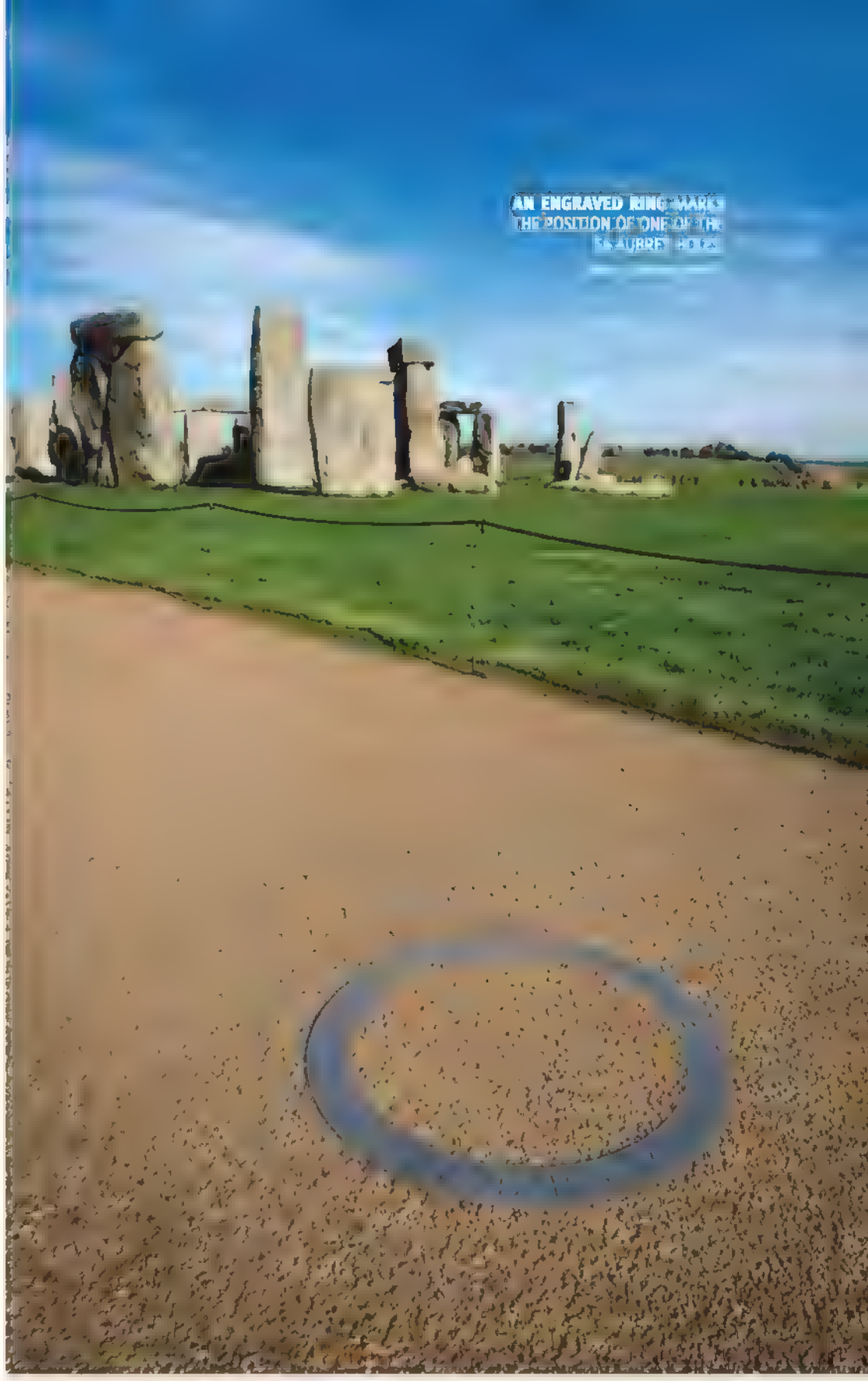
JULIUS PURCELL IS DEPUTY EDITOR OF NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC *HISTORY*

Learn more

BOOKS

Stonehenge: A New Understanding—Solving the Mysteries of the Greatest Stone Age Monument
Mike Parker Pearson, The Experiment, 2019

Stonehenge: The Story of a Sacred Landscape
Francis Pryor, Pegasus Books, 2018



COSMOPOLITAN CEMETERY

NAMED FOR THE 17th-century antiquarian who discovered them, the 56 Aubrey Holes run in a circular formation just inside the earthwork that encircled the rings of Stonehenge. Early 20th-century excavations revealed cremated remains in their topmost strata as well as fasteners used to close the bags that held them. When hole number VII was re-excavated in 2008 as part of the Stonehenge Riverside Project, 25 separate individuals, probably members of a ruling elite, were identified. Dating from 3000 to 2450 B.C., the remains confirmed Stonehenge's role as a major European Neolithic cremation site. Some 40 percent of the individuals did not come from the local area. It has been suggested that these people may have come from Wales, where Stonehenge's bluestones were quarried.

Greater Cursus. This elongated ditch and embankment, one of the earliest structures in the complex, was constructed around 3500 B.C.

Stonehenge

The First Enclosure was built between 3000 and 2700 B.C., formed by a moat and embankments. The 56 Aubrey Holes were arranged in a circular formation on the inner rim.

The stones were completed circa 2500 B.C. The sarsens and bluestones take the form of a central horseshoe structure surrounded by an outer ring of sarsens.

Here, the Avenue makes a sharp turn just at the point where the megaliths appear in the distance. The path aligns with the sunrise on the June solstice and the sunset on the December solstice.

THE STRUCTURES OF STONEHENGE

The Stonehenge complex features many Neolithic sites that existed along the banks of the Avon River. Archaeologists believe the landscape was first regarded as special because retreating glaciers hollowed out furrows in the ground that, by coincidence, aligned with significant positions of the sun at the June and December solstices. Numerous structures made of earth, wood, or stone were built across the Salisbury Plain. One of the first was the Greater Cursus, an earthwork begun around 3500 B.C. The Avenue, constructed around 2100 B.C., was one of the most recent additions to the prehistoric complex.

ILLUSTRATION: 4D NEWS

Durrington Walls. This Neolithic location once housed workers and pilgrims in and after 2500 B.C. It was later transformed into a vast circular earthwork
Woodhenge. Built with wooden poles, a circular monument was erected here around 2300 B.C.
The Avenue. Built around 2100 B.C., the lane measures about 40 feet wide and runs nearly two miles between the Avon River and Stonehenge. Two large earthen embankments flank the Avenue on both sides
Bluestonehenge. Discovered in 2009 by the Stonehenge Riverside Project, a ring of pits reveals that a circle of bluestones may have been erected here between 3000 and 2500 B.C. and was later dismantled
Avon River
Avon River

1

THE BLUESTONES

A LONG JOURNEY TO THE SALISBURY PLAIN

The first stones believed to be erected at Stonehenge also traveled the farthest to get there. Archaeologists discovered that the bluestones, each weighing around four tons, were brought to Stonehenge from the Preseli Hills of southwestern Wales—a journey of more than 140 miles by land. The theory was first proposed as early as the 1920s, and geological research undertaken in the 2000s has conclusively pinpointed the exact location of the quarries, called Carn Goedog and Craig Rhos-y-felin, where the stones were excavated. Scholars are still debating how the bluestones actually got from Wales to the Salisbury Plain. One theory, now discredited, was that glaciers had borne the stones and deposited them in England; most scholars now agree that people transported them. The question of how, and whether by land or by water, remains to be answered. Some propose the stones could have been floated along the coastline and then up through waterways to reach the Avon River before being hauled to the Stonehenge site. Others believe the Welsh stones were loaded on to sleds and dragged overland, perhaps as a public display meant to impress. Scholars aren't certain why these particular stones were chosen for the site or why people went to such great effort to move them from Wales to England. Recent isotope analysis of human remains uncovered at Stonehenge indicated that people from the same region as the bluestones were buried on the Salisbury Plain, leading some to believe they may have been the workers who quarried and escorted the bluestones to their new home. ■

Possible transportation routes used to move the stones include different routes by water (left). Quarried close to the Stonehenge site, the massive sandstone sarsens were believed to come from Marlborough Downs, but recent studies have found they may have come from West Woods in Wiltshire, about 15 miles from Stonehenge.

MAP: GRADUALMAP

FAR-FLUNG QUARRY
Bluestones jut from outcrops in the Preseli Hills in southwestern Wales. In the 2000s, analysis of the rocks proved the long-standing theory that the bluestones had come from Wales.
ANDREW HENDERSON/NG IMAGE COLLECTION

STONEHENGE

THE LIVING ROCKS

The 20th-century astronomer Gerald S. Hawkins once described Stonehenge as a "Neolithic computer," with its massive stones deliberately placed to coordinate with heavenly events. The most famous solar alignment occurs on the solstices in June and December. Archaeologists believe that the Stonehenge complex was more than just a calendar and probably served several purposes over the years, including religious rites surrounding life and death. The Stonehenge Riverside Project (SRP) theorizes that Stonehenge served, among other things, as a center for ancestor worship, supported by the presence of cremated individuals. The SRP also explored the symbolic links between the massive stone rings and a similar wooden structure at Durrington Walls. The stone rings stood for the domain of the dead, and the wooden for that of the living, with the Avenue between them representing the connection between the two worlds.

ERECTING THE SANDSTONE TRILITHONS OF STONEHENGE
ILLUSTRATION BY IVAN LAPPER
HERITAGE-IMAGES/ALBUM

ILLUSTRATION: 4D NEWS

① **EXTERIOR RING**
Thirty sandstone blocks, called sarsens, are crowned with lintels, which are fixed to the vertical posts using tongue and groove joints, a woodworking technique.

② **INNER RING**
These standing bluestones are among the first erected at Stonehenge. The larger sarsens are added centuries later, and the smaller bluestones are repositioned.

The Great Trilithon (now toppled) once stood more than 23 feet above the ground and faces the entrance of the horseshoe. Carefully positioned it aligned with sunrise on the June solstice and sunset on the December solstice.

The Altar Stone's name comes from its prone position, but it is unclear if it was originally placed that way or if it is a standing stone that toppled.

③ SARSEN HORSESHOE

The five monumental stone trilithons are arranged symmetrically to form a horseshoe, with the tallest one placed in the center. Just one of its legs weighs more than 22 tons.

④ BLUESTONE HORSESHOE

The inner formation of bluestones was originally an oval but was reconfigured over the centuries. Scholars believe they were placed in the current horseshoe design more than 3,500 years ago.

IN PLAIN SIGHT
Dispersing mist reveals the great stone trilithon structures of Stonehenge. From above, the concentric rings of earlier earthworks can be clearly seen.

GAVIN HELLIER/AWL IMAGES

DURRINGTON WALLS

PREHISTORIC PIG ROASTS

The full importance of Durrington Walls, has recently become clearer. In the early 2000s, the Stonehenge Riverside Project found the remains of a Neolithic settlement there consisting of hundreds of dwellings. This village may have housed the people who built Stonehenge, as well as pilgrims who attended feasts, evidence of which has been found in the form of animal bones, mostly pigs (of the 8,500 specimens, swine outnumbered cattle ten to one). Isotope analysis of the pig bones also shows that all were not locally raised; instead, they were brought by pig-roast attendees from all over Britain, including parts of Wales and Scotland. The food evidence supports the hypothesis that Stonehenge and its surrounding sites were ceremonial gathering places for the British world, not just the local population. This village would eventually be abandoned and a massive circular earthwork—the largest "henge" structure in Great Britain—was built on the site.

THE DURRINGTON WALLS SETTLEMENT AS IT LOOKS TODAY. THE CHALK FLOORS ARE ALL THAT REMAIN

ADAM STANFORD/AERIAL-CAM

DURRINGTON HOMES
It is believed that there were hundreds of houses at the Durrington Walls site around 2500 B.C. It may have been the largest settlement in Britain at the time. Archaeologists have excavated the remnants of 10 dwellings so far (see the re-creation, right). They had hard chalk floors and central hearths. The presence of postholes suggests that wooden poles supported the walls and thatched roof, which was most likely made of local grasses, reeds, and sedges.
ILLUSTRATION: 4D NEWS
Northern Circle
Southern Circle

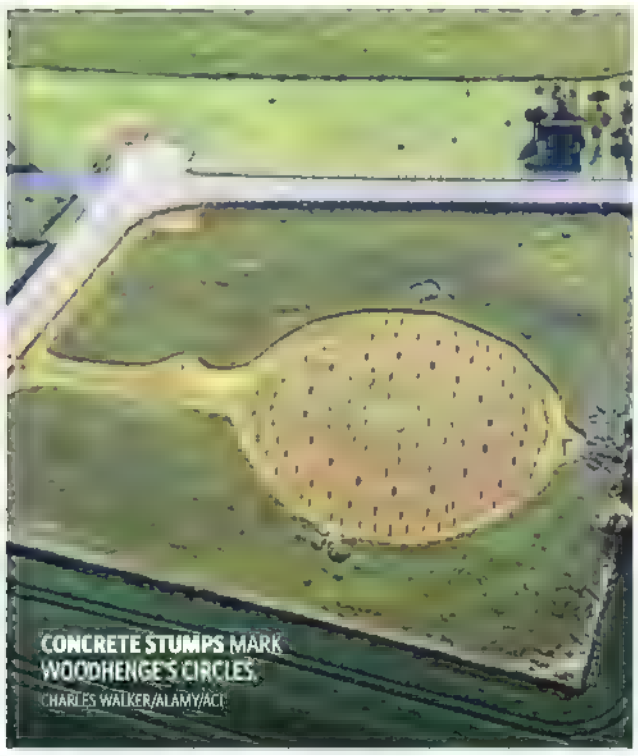
NEOLITHIC VILLAGE
Between 2800 and 2400 B.C. in Durrington Walls a large timber monument was built, now known as the Southern Circle, believed to be a counterpoint to Stonehenge. The village had its own separate Avenue that led to the Avon River.

ILLUSTRATION: 3D NEWS

WOODHENGE

CIRCLES AND SKELETONS

Woodhenge, south of Durrington Walls, was first spotted from the air. In 1925 aviators were flying over the plain and snapping pictures. The photograph of this place revealed dark rings in the ground, and excitement over exploring the site began to build. Welsh-born archaeologist Maud Cunnington moved quickly and began excavating the site in 1926. Upon finishing in 1929, her team found that these rings were a series of holes in the ground that once held poles, some estimated to stand as high as 25 feet. Surrounded by an outer bank and ditch, the tall timbers were arranged in six rings and might have supported a thatched roof. At the center, Cunnington uncovered a burial containing the split skull of a child; she interpreted it to be a ritual sacrifice, but unfortunately the remains, taken off-site for study, were lost and unable to be examined further.



CONCRETE STUMPS MARK WOODHENGE'S CIRCLES.
CHARLES WALKER/ALAMY/ACI

① ENTRY
Access to the enclosure linked Woodhenge to the Avenue that connected Durrington Walls and the Avon River. The original earthwork has been heavily damaged by plowing, but the entrance is believed to have been at the northeastern part of the site.

The embankment sits at the edges of a slightly oval henge.

The external ring is about 130 feet in diameter.

The moat, similar to the one in Stonehenge, marked the boundary and measured about 360 feet in diameter.

ILLUSTRATION 4D NEWS

② THE CIRCLES

Erected around 4,500 years ago, the posts, of which there were around 160, formed six concentric circles and may have supported a roof. Some prehistorians believe they were freestanding and may have been decorated with colorful pigments or carvings.

③ BURIAL SITE

Cunnington's team found a burial of a young child near the center of Woodhenge. The skull had been split, which some interpreted as evidence of sacrifice. During the excavation, another grave was uncovered and contained a male adolescent.

TAKING NOTES

Scribes jot down the words of the powerful in a relief from the Tomb of Horemheb, Saqqara, circa 1400 B.C. National Archaeological Museum, Florence, Italy. **Opposite:** A gold ring found at Amarna depicts Akhenaten and his queen Nefertiti. Circa 1353-1336 B.C. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

RELIEF: BRIDGEMAN/ACI.
RING: ALBUM/METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Power, Princesses, and Presents

THE AMARNA LETTERS

The stunning discovery in the 1880s of a cache of letters revealed how the pharaohs exchanged brides and gold to maintain their place as the region's power brokers.

JOSÉ LULL

CAPITAL MOVE

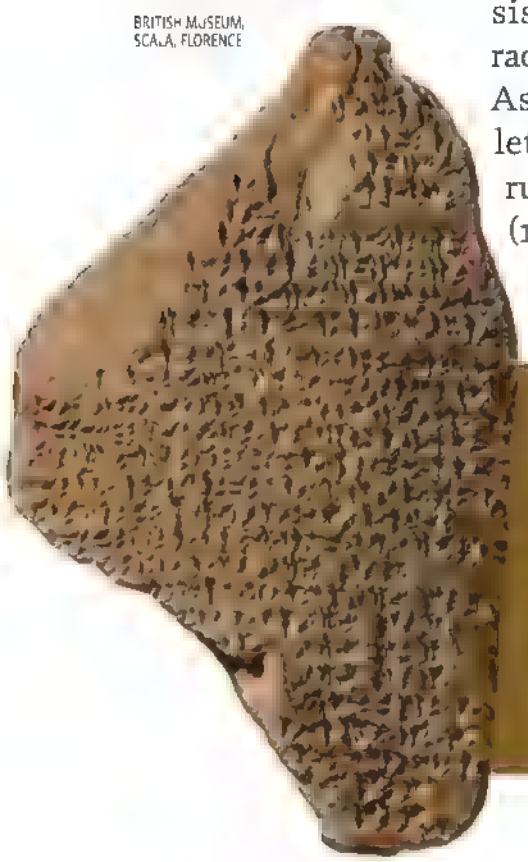
The sun rises over the ruins of the Great Aten Temple in present-day Amarna, Egypt (left). Akhenaten moved his capital here as part of his new religion to exalt the god Aten.

KENNETH GARRETT

A PHARAOH WRITES . . .

A rare example of an Amarna missive from the pharaoh, Letter 5 (below) is from Amenhotep III to the Babylonian king Kadasman-Enlil I, discussing plans to marry the latter's daughter. British Museum, London

BRITISH MUSEUM, SCALA, FLORENCE



Sometimes, archaeologists stumble on not just one, or a few, but an entire cache of documents that utterly transforms their understanding of an ancient period, and whose fascinating details bring that distant time into sharp focus. The trove that transformed Egyptology is undoubtedly that of the Amarna Letters, 382 clay tablets considered the oldest documents of diplomacy ever found.

Written in the 14th century B.C., they consist of correspondence between the pharaohs and their rival kings, the Babylonians, Assyrians, Hittites, and Mitanni, as well as letters from puppet kings under Egyptian rule. Beginning in the reign of Amenhotep III (1390–1353 B.C.), Egypt's great builder king, the archive also tracks the reign of his son, Akhenaten (1353–1336 B.C.), whose religious revolution convulsed ancient Egypt for a generation. The letters open a window into 18th-dynasty Egypt and give a detailed snapshot of the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East in the Late Bronze Age, just as Egypt was consolidating its greatness and the new power of Assyria was beginning to flourish.

Revealing the writers' flattery, arrogance, jealousy, and groveling, the letters also provide an insight into the developing complexity of international diplomacy. The growth of large empires jostling for supremacy had created the need for a system of rules, and the Amarna communiqués give historians unparalleled insights into how these early rules worked.

THE ROYAL LETTERS

CA 1360 B.C.

The first letter in the Amarna archive is written in the 30th year of the reign of Amenhotep III, who rules closely with his wife Tiye.

1360-1353/2 B.C.

For the rest of his reign, Amenhotep III corresponds with regional kings, including Tushratta of Mitanni, whose daughter he promises to marry.

WORSHIPING ATEN

Pharaoh Akhenaten worships the solar disk, Aten. These limestone bricks, known as *talatat*, were created for the Temple of Aten in Karnak but were later dismantled. The fragments are currently on display in the Luxor Museum.

KENNETH GARRETT

1350s B.C.

Five years after succeeding his father, Amenhotep IV—soon to rename himself Akhenaten—transfers to a new capital, Akhetaten.

1330s B.C.

After years of receiving letters from kings and vassals at his new capital, Akhenaten dies. His radical religious reforms are abandoned.

1320s B.C.

Tutankhamun returns to full orthodoxy and decides to move the capital back to Thebes. Akhetaten is abandoned.

A.D. 1880s

A century after the site of Akhetaten is located at Amarna, the cache of diplomatic letters is found, sparking scholarly interest.

AKHETATEN
① Great Aten Temple, ② Royal Palace, ③ Bureau of Correspondence of Pharaoh, and ④ Small Aten Temple

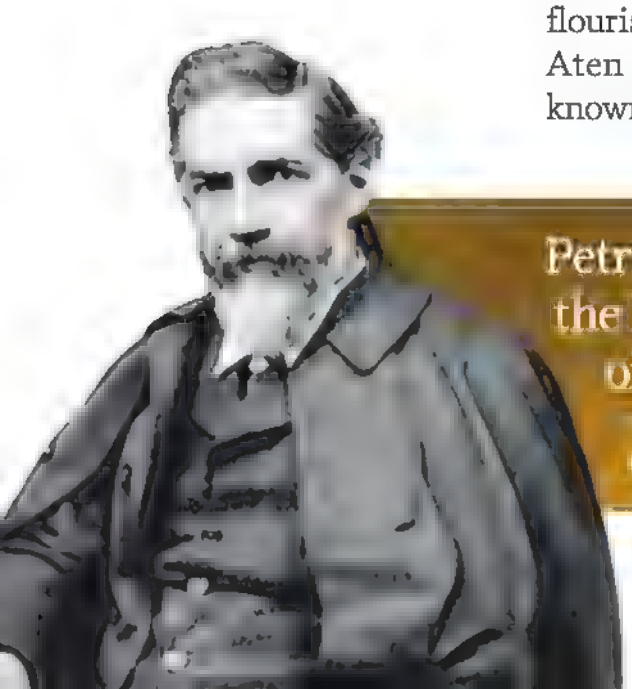
NEW CAPITAL
The grand structures in the city of Akhetaten (above)—the Great Aten Temple, the Royal Palace, the Bureau of Correspondence of Pharaoh, and the Small Aten Temple—were crucial to running the kingdom.

ILLUSTRATION: PAUL DOCHERTY

City of the Sun

Around 1348 B.C., Pharaoh Akhenaten moved his court to an isolated spot farther north, roughly equidistant between Thebes (his former capital) and Memphis. The transfer was part of the pharaoh's radical program to exalt Aten, the solar disk, as the almost exclusive divinity of Egypt.

Akhenaten's new capital, on the east bank of the Nile, was called Akhetaten, meaning "horizon of Aten," possibly because of nearby hills that frame the rising sun. The modern name of the place, Tell el Amarna, is used interchangeably with the site of Akhetaten, and it has given its name to the extraordinary culture that briefly flourished when the upheaval of the pharaoh's Aten cult paralleled a radical change in art, known as Amarna style.



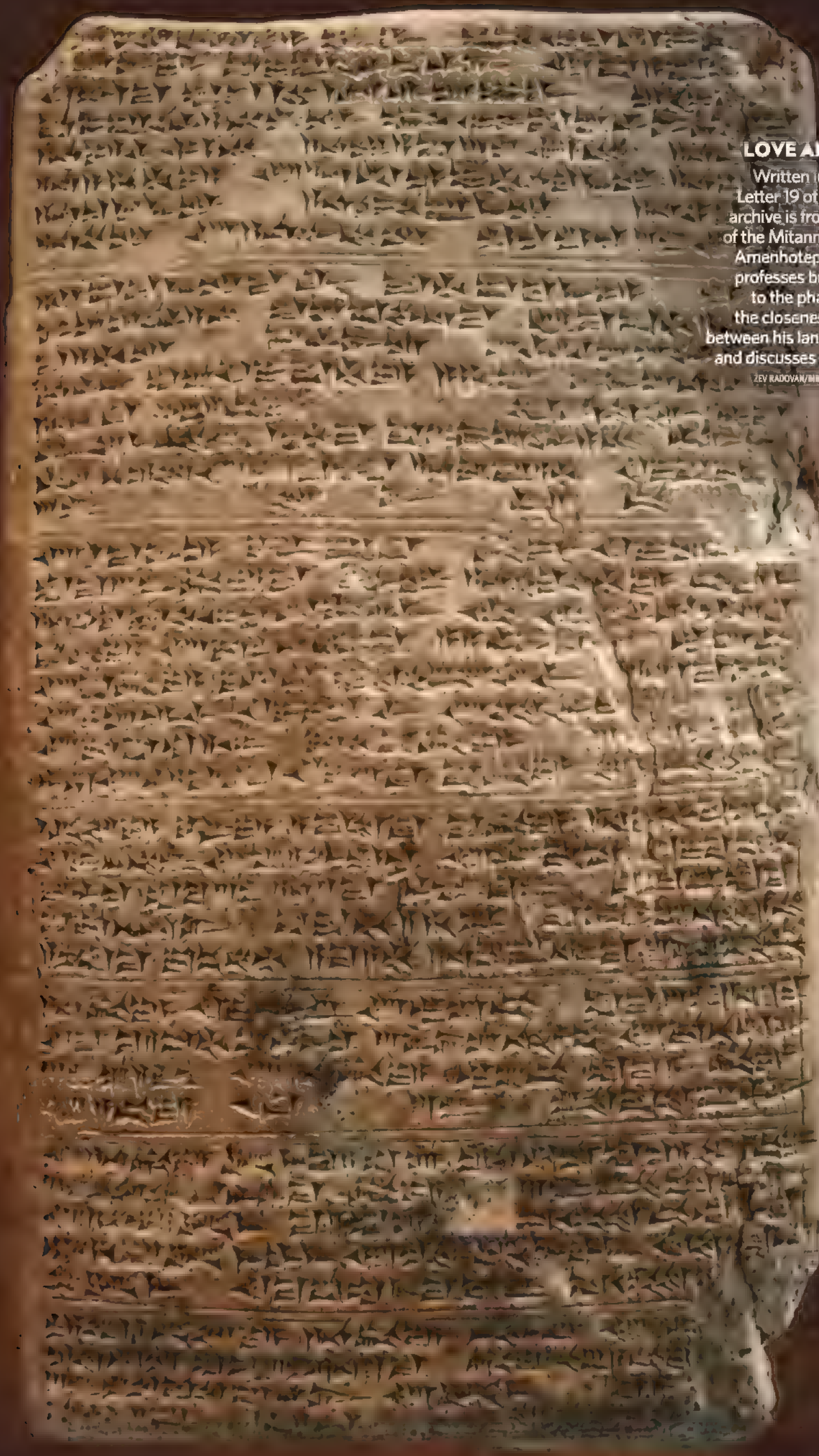
Petrie excavated and identified the Bureau of Correspondence of Pharaoh in Amarna.

EGYPTOLOGIST WILLIAM FLINDERS PETRIE

Akhenaten's reign, however, was not just centered on religious and artistic upheaval. He had inherited a kingdom of huge power and regional prestige from his father, Amenhotep III, and continued pursuing Egyptian interests, particularly in mineral-rich Nubia to the south. Until his death in 1336 B.C., Egypt's capital was a bustling city filled with palaces and temples, homes, barracks, and administrative buildings. The latter contained the ongoing archive of diplomatic letters, begun under Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye.

The ancient city was identified at Amarna in the late 1700s, when Akhetaten's boundary stone was found there. The letters came to light in the 1880s after a series of chance finds. As news of their existence spread, the site suddenly acquired huge archaeological importance. The curator of the British Museum, Wallis Budge, managed to obtain a batch of 82 pieces. A significant number of tablets also found their way via the antiquities market to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and the Staatliche Museum in Berlin.

Led by British Egyptologist William Flinders Petrie in the 1890s, the first significant excavation at Amarna soon uncovered more tablets



LOVE AND GOLD

Written in cuneiform, Letter 19 of the Amarna archive is from Tushratta of the Mitanni to Pharaoh Amenhotep III. The king professes brotherly love to the pharaoh, extols the closeness of the ties between his land and Egypt, and discusses gold mining.

ŽEV RADOVAN/BIBLELANDPICTURES/ALAMY

Egypt and Its Neighbors

MUCH AS IT IS TODAY, the geopolitical situation in the Middle East was complex and in flux in the 14th century B.C. It was during this period that the Hatti (Hittites) were expanding, while the once powerful kingdom of Mitanni went into decline. The Assyrian Empire, based in Ashur, took advantage of the power vacuum to grow, while the house of Babylon held strong but remained wary of the threat from Assyria.

THE AMARNA LETTERS reflect this change. In addition to playing off the interests of the other big regional players, Egypt had to maintain its imperial holdings in the Levant, where cities such as Tyre complained of harassment from the mysterious Habiru people. The pharaoh was also on the alert for signs of betrayal from his puppet rulers.

NG MAPS

DAUGHTERS OF BABYLON

A 12th-century B.C. stela (below) records a gift to a Babylonian princess, a successor of the Kassite dynasty with whom Akhenaten exchanged letters 200 years before. Louvre Museum, Paris

PRISMA/A..BUM

from the time of Akhenaten. During his first campaign, Petrie excavated a building with the name "Bureau of Correspondence of Pharaoh" stamped on its bricks.

A meticulous archaeologist, Petrie also had an instinct for publicity. He knew the Amarna Letters would help attract patrons to fund the dig. His examinations of the documentary riches of the letters and the archaeological remains of the ancient capital hugely boosted knowledge of this dynasty and the New Kingdom.

Not all the letters were found at once. When the Norwegian linguist Jørgen Alexander Knudtzon ordered them chronologically within geographic groupings in the early 1900s, there were 358. The remaining 24 were discovered in the course of the 20th century and incorporated into Knudtzon's system of numbering, still used by scholars today.

The letters are not written in ancient Egyptian, but in Akkadian, a language spoken widely in ancient Mesopotamia. In the second millennium B.C., Akkadian became a lingua franca across the whole region, similar to the role English plays in international relations today. It is written in the wedge-shaped writing system, cuneiform. Most of the tablets found to date are letters received by the Egyptians. Only a few copies were retained of letters written *by* the pharaohs.

Letters From Puppets

Scholars have divided the Amarna Letters into two principal groups. One is letters to the pharaoh from the leaders of states controlled by Egypt, and the other is letters to the pharaoh written by his equals (or as he would have seen them, his near equals), the rulers of the other great, independent regional powers.

The former category, dispatches from puppet kings, are from Canaan, located in modern-day Israel and Lebanon. Egypt had seized Canaan as an imperial trophy a century before under Thutmose III. The new acquisition brought Egypt problems along with prestige: Its rulers were harried by a people called the Habiru, identified by some historians as the Hebrews, although their identity is still hotly debated. The temptation for puppet rulers to make deals with local Habiru was, apparently, very great. An Amarna dispatch from the ruler of Tyre to Akhenaten (Letter 148) complains that the Habiru have laid

DIPLOMACY AND DOUBLE CROSSES

An aerial view of Hazor, a major Canaanite city in the 14th century B.C., whose ruins lie in present-day Israel. Various Amarna letters concern the ruler of Hazor and whether he had a real treaty

THE ART OF WAR

Military rivals of Egypt, the Hittites were known for their war chariots, but they left behind their own distinctive stone art, like this 13th-century B.C. relief (above) from Yasilikaya, Turkey, showing a divine procession of the gods.

DE AGOSTINI PICTURE LIBRARY/SCALA, FLORENCE

waste to the region, but that another local ruler, that of Hazor (modern-day northern Israel) supposedly loyal to Egypt, "has aligned himself with the Habiru . . . [and] has turned over the king's land to the Habiru."

These letters are often expressed in language of extreme abasement. The puppet ruler of Gezer, in present-day Israel, wrote: "To the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun of heaven: Message of Yapahu, your servant, the dirt at your feet. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, seven times and seven times."

Letters From Kings

In contrast, the letters written by the pharaoh's equals, rulers of the great regional powers, are careful how and when they demonstrate that they are on more equal footing. Scholars sometimes refer to the main regional powers of this time as the "Great Powers Club," which at this time consisted of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni (centered in modern southeastern Turkey), and "Hatti," the Hittite empire. Another member of the club was Alashiya, the island of Cyprus. While geographically small, the island nation was economically powerful thanks to its copper reserves.

A few of the letters date back to the reign of Amenhotep III and his great royal wife, Tiye, who was also Akhenaten's mother. After Amenhotep's death, his widow remained powerful when her son took the throne. Akhenaten took his father's archives with him to the new capital as a record of diplomatic relations with Egypt's allies and vassal states.

Some of the Amarna archive concerns the exchanging of royal princesses as wives. A rare example of an Amarna missive actually written by the pharaoh is Letter 5, from Amenhotep III to the Babylonian king Kadasman-Enlil I. In just 30 lines, the letter covers the principal themes of royal communication: effusive well-wishing, the dispatch of costly presents, and the pharaoh's hopes to receive a Babylonian princess for his harem.

The pharaoh could expect to receive a wife, but a sign of Egypt's supremacy was the pharaoh's consistent refusal to give wives in return. An earlier dispatch (Letter 4) from Kadasman-Enlil I to Amenhotep complains at the injunction that "since earliest times no daughter of the king of Egypt has ever been given in marriage." The Babylonian king chafes at the edict: "Why are you telling me such things? You are the king. You may do as you wish. If you wanted to give me your daughter in marriage who could say you nay?" His frustration is shared by other kings in the archive, and lays bare the reality of regional power: Egypt could call the shots.

Some of the most revealing letters about kingship and power are those sent from Tushratta, king of Mitanni, whose expanding empire had a southern border with Egypt's northernmost holdings in Lebanon. Tushratta opens his letters with a codified greeting, set down by the Great Powers to establish the authenticity of the sender. Letter 27 takes the form of an elaborate pattern of well-wishing. As the king of Mitanni is an equal, he refers to the pharaoh as "brother," and opens with these words:

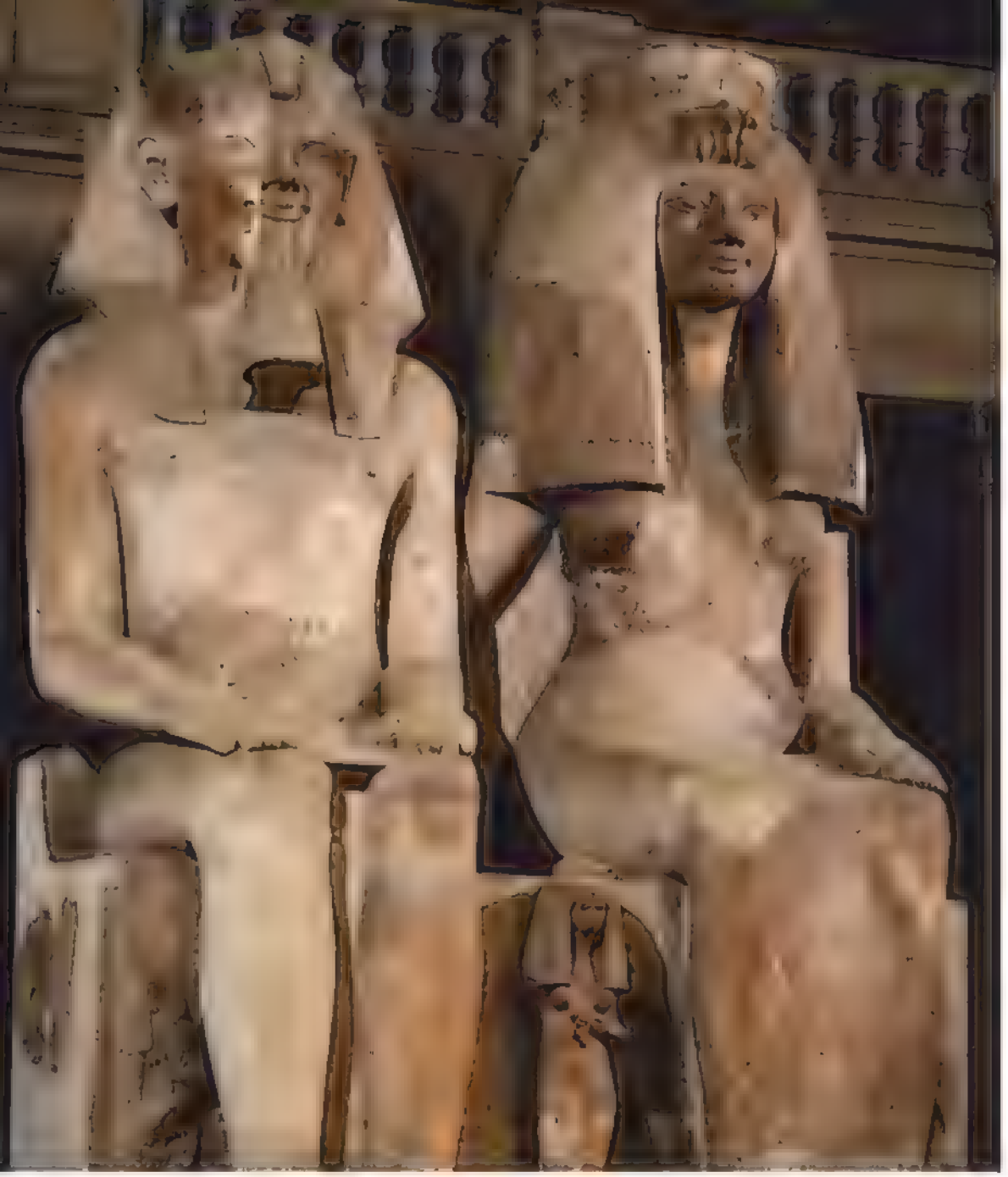
Egypt was at the center of a far-flung web of royal correspondents.

A CALF IN A MEADOW, FRAGMENT FROM AKHETATEN

present-day Lebanon,

long history, from Egypt in the 14th century B.C. to Rome during the second century A.D., when this triumphal arch was built.

PAUL DOYLE • AM '80



PARTNERS IN POWER

Amenhotep III and his wife Tiye (above) were often the same size in their statues, indicating a more equal partnership between this pharaoh and his queen. Egyptian Museum, Cairo

DE AGOSTINI PICTURE LIBRARY/SCALA, FLORENCE

A MITANNI CYLINDER SEAL DEPICTING LIONS, FOUND IN THE ANCIENT CITY OF UGARIT, SYRIA. NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DAMASCUS

AKG/ALBUM

Say to Naphurreya [Akhenaten], the king of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, whom I love and whom loves me: Thus Tushratta, Great King, the king of Mitanni, your father-in-law, who loves you, your brother. For me all goes well. For you may all go well. For Tiye, your mother, may all go well. For Tadu-Heba, my daughter, your wife, for the rest of your wives . . . may all go very, very well.

The daughter Tushratta mentions, Tadu-Heba, had been a lesser wife to Akhenaten's father, Amenhotep III. After his death, she became a wife to Akhenaten. This alliance was vital to Tushratta, as the Mitanni were constantly harried by the Hittites to their north and needed a strong alliance with Egypt.

There is an underlying tension in the letter explained by the previous missive, Letter 26, written not to Akhenaten, but to Queen Tiye. Tushratta complains to the pharaoh's mother that gifts her late husband, Amenhotep III, had promised to Tushratta (detailed in Letter 19), had included two gold statues. On arrival, these were discovered to be not solid gold at all, but "[gold]-plated statues of wood."

Scholars are unsure as to whether the cheaper statues were an intentional snub to Tushratta, and an indication of Mitanni's diminished status in the eyes of Egypt. Tushratta was the weaker here, but he had to maintain his prestige. The dispute continues in Letter 28, where Tushratta complains that as his messengers were detained by Akhenaten, so he has detained Egypt's.

Tushratta was soon to suffer defeat at the hands of his former vassal king, the Assyrian Ashur-uballit I. As Mitanni power waned, so Assyria started to wax. Ashur-uballit I does not yet call himself a brother in his first letter to Akhenaten (Letter 15), but it is a bold declaration that Assyria had joined the "Club": He had treasure to bestow—"a splendid chariot, horses, and a date-stone of genuine lapis lazuli"—but expected respect in return.

The sudden rise of Assyria caused indignation in other quarters, especially in Babylon whose king wrote to Akhenaten in Letter 9. After the usual gift-giving and well-wishing, he asks: "Why on their own authority have the Assyrian envoys of my vassal [i.e., Ashur-uballit I] come to your country? If you love me, they will conduct no business whatsoever. Send them off to me empty handed." Such protests, however, were as nothing to the realities of power. Assyria continued to grow, and Akhenaten's Egypt remained the preeminent power in the region.

Even so, in Egypt, Akhenaten's new cult of Aten would fail. The last letters of the Amarna archive date from the reign of his son and successor, Tutankhamun, under whose rule the Amarna reforms were rolled back, and references to Akhenaten's name erased.

Akhenaten's capital was left for the desert to swallow. At some stage in its abandonment, a civil servant must have placed the diplomatic tablets in two small pits under the floor of the administrative building where they remained in their hiding place. There, they were discovered during another age of empire more than 3,000 years later.

AN EXPERT ON ANCIENT EGYPT'S LATE DYNASTIES, JOSÉ LULL IS SENIOR LECTURER AT THE AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY OF BARCELONA, SPAIN.

FACELESS

This elaborate coffin's visage was gone when it was discovered in 1907 in tomb KV55 of the Valley of the Kings. Some inscriptions suggest it was Akhenaten's.

ALAIN GUILLEUX/ALAMY/ACI

HADRIAN IN

A ROMAN'S PASSION FOR GREECE

ATHENS

Emperor Hadrian adored all things Athenian and set out to transform the Greek city into a new cultural center for the Roman Empire.

JUAN PABLO SÁNCHEZ

ARDOR FOR ATHENS

Dominated by the ancient Parthenon (above), this illustration of second-century A.D. Athens shows several of Hadrian's new monuments, notably, the mighty Temple of Olympian Zeus (left). Opposite: Emperor Hadrian sports a Greek-style haircut and beard in a bust of him. Uffizi Galleries, Florence

BACKGROUND: PRISMA/ALBUM **BUST:** WHITE IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE

PLATONIC ADMIRATION

Plato converses with his pupils in a mosaic (left) from the House of T. Siminius, Pompeii. Dated to the late first century B.C., it reflects Romans' high regard for Greek culture and thought.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

GRATEFUL GREECE

Seventeenth-century artist Francesco Fanelli sketched a rare aureus minted in the reign of Hadrian (below) depicting a woman, who represents Greece, paying homage to Hadrian. The Latin inscription reads, "To The Restorer of Achaea (Greece)."

ALAMY/ACI

Any city awaiting a visit from a Roman emperor would have thrummed with anticipation, but for Athenians in A.D. 124, the expectation was even greater. Hadrian, whose realm stretched from Britain to Babylonia, had a well-known passion for Greece, which he had cultivated since he was a child. Out of all the cities under Rome's control, Hadrian selected Athens as his intellectual home, a city on which he would lavish funds on building monuments.

Hadrian's relationship with the city of Plato and Pericles was reciprocated by the Athenians, who came to regard the emperor as their city's new founder and a deity in his own right. The monuments he built in Athens reflected not just its ancient glory but its modern importance too: Hadrian knew that his exaltation and improvement of the city would help stabilize the fractious eastern part of the sprawling Roman Empire he had come to rule.

Exploring Everything

Born in A.D. 76 in Italica, near the modern Spanish city of Seville, Publius Aelius Hadrianus was born into an aristocratic family. When his father died in A.D. 85, Hadrian became a ward of his cousin (and future Roman emperor) Trajan, who ensured the youth had a fine education, which would have included Greek history and philosophy. Young Hadrian was so fond of these

LIFELONG LOVE OF ATHENS

A.D. 111-112

In his mid-30s, while his second cousin Trajan reigns as emperor, Hadrian makes his first visit to Athens and is made an honorary citizen.

117

Trajan dies, and Hadrian becomes emperor. After shoring up his power in Rome, he will set out on a tour of the empire in 121.

CLASSICAL HEIGHTS
Crowning the Acropolis, the Parthenon was built in the fifth century B.C., a period Emperor Hadrian considered the zenith of Athenian culture.

MICHELE FALZONE/AWL IMAGES

124-125
Hadrian makes his first imperial visit to Athens. He presides over the festival Dionysia. He vows to complete the Temple of Olympian Zeus.

128-129
During his second imperial visit to Greece, Hadrian is joined by his lover Antinous. Both men participate in secret rite of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

131-132
On his last trip to Greece, he consecrates the Temple of Olympian Zeus, founds the Panhellenion, and orders the building of the Library of Hadrian.

ATHENS'S ODEON WAS COMPLETED BY HERODES ATTICUS IN A.D. 161. IT WAS PARTLY DESTROYED IN 267 AND RESTORED CENTURIES LATER IN 1950.
ALAMY/AC

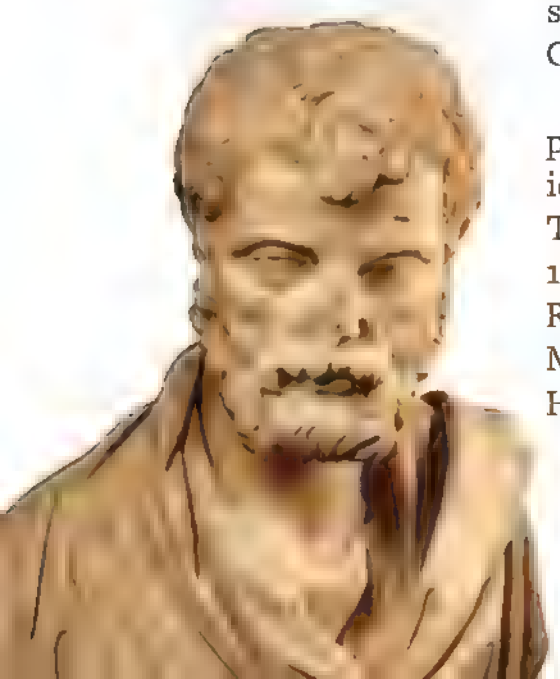
A Tutor for an Emperor

IN HIS EXALTATION of Athenian culture, Hadrian befriended Athenian aristocrats, notably Herodes Atticus, a rich, Romanized philosopher and statesman. In the spirit of Hadrian's revitalization program, Herodes funded Athenian monuments after Hadrian's death, including the Odeon on the Acropolis. A theater whose acoustics are suited to musical performance, the Odeon was an important resource in a city priding itself on a cultural renaissance.

TOWARD THE END of Hadrian's reign, Herodes Atticus was appointed tutor to one of Hadrian's wards, Marcus Aurelius, who would become the last emperor of the Pax Romana. Beginning in A.D. 161, Marcus Aurelius's reign was marked by his deep learning and immersion in Greek thought, especially Stoic philosophy.

MONUMENTAL LEGACY

Herodes Atticus (shown below in a late second-century bust) was the Athenian orator and politician who continued Hadrian's monument-building after the emperor's death in A.D. 138. Louvre Museum, Paris
RMN-GRAND PALAIS



subjects, he earned the nickname "Graeculus," which means "Greekling."

Hadrian moved to Rome at age 14 and continued his upward rise in Roman circles of power. When he was 22 in A.D. 98, Trajan became Roman emperor. Hadrian benefited from his mentor's successes and took on various roles and duties—from military tribune to praetor to consul. During a trip to Athens in 111–112, Hadrian earned perhaps his favorite post: *archon*, or chief city official. According to an inscription found at the Theater of Dionysus, the Athenians granted Hadrian citizenship and appointed him to the position. During this time, Hadrian was free to submerge himself in his childhood passion for Greek culture.

As a young soldier, enjoying his cousin's patronage, Hadrian participated in the dramatic expansion of Roman power under Trajan. The empire grew dramatically during Trajan's 19-year reign, in which he annexed modern-day Romania (Dacia) as well as the distant lands of Mesopotamia. Trajan died in Sicily in 117, and Hadrian became the next emperor.

After consolidating his power, in 122 he set about a grand tour of his empire, starting in his Iberian homeland and working his way east. Writing in the third century, the North African theologian Tertullian described Hadrian's urge "to be an explorer of everything." His travels combined a shrewd military eye with a scholar's avid interest, and no place stimulated that interest more than Athens. Remembering his fervor of his first encounter, Hadrian set up a return visit. Athenians ensured that when the travel-weary emperor finally entered the city in 124, he was welcomed in style.

Love and Hate

Hadrian's Athenian attachment originated in a long-standing Roman fascination with Greece and classical culture. Centuries before Rome became a regional power, Romans came into contact with Greek colonists on the Italian peninsula, adapting and borrowing from their mythology and pantheon of gods.

By 155 B.C. the Roman Republic was a well-established power, and Greek philosophers traveled to Rome and deeply influenced Roman thought. Around 20 B.C., when Augustus Caesar was forging the empire that Hadrian would come to inherit, the poet Virgil consolidated this

TOWER OF THE WINDS

The Roman Agora was built a few decades after Rome's conquest of Athens in 86 B.C. One of its most curious sites is the Horologion of Athens, built in the second or first century B.C. Nicknamed the "Tower of the Winds," it once incorporated a sundial, water clock, and weather vane.

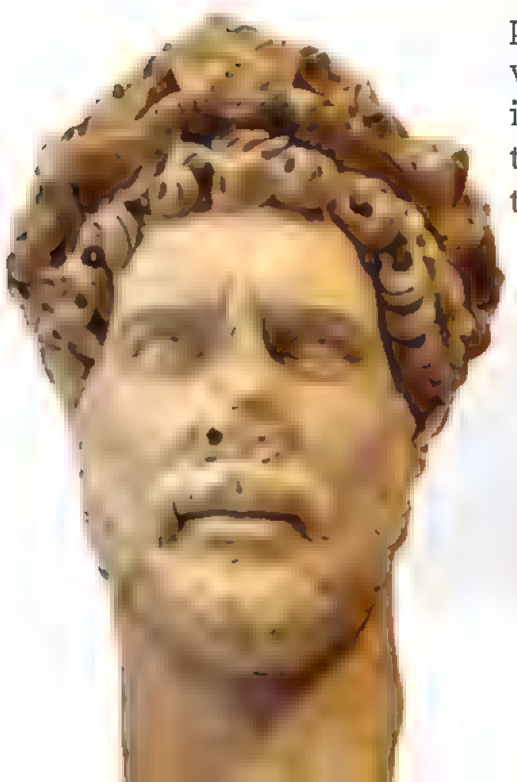
(C. VOLHA/ALAMY/AC)

WONDEROUS MODEL

The statue of Zeus at Olympia (illustrated above by 19th-century artist Georg Rehlender) inspired Hadrian's own gold-and-ivory version for his temple in Athens. Both gigantic statues have since been lost.
AKG/ALBUM

sense of continuity between the Greek and Roman worlds in his epic poem, the *Aeneid*. Virgil's hero, the Trojan prince Aeneas, escapes from the conquered city and leads a group of exiles to Italy where he founds Rome. Revisiting Rome's origin story, the *Aeneid* serves to strengthen the link between Caesar's Rome and ancient Greece.

Athens was conquered by Rome in 86 B.C., during the struggle for control of the region with Mithradates VI, king of Pontus, an area near the Black Sea. The fact that Athens stubbornly resisted Rome may have contributed to cultural prejudices. The first-century B.C. orator Cicero, who did much to popularize and spread Greek ideas, nevertheless regarded the Greeks through the prism of a love-hate relationship, describing the Greek national character as untrustworthy.



Hadrian saw his role in the resurgence of Athens as that of a "Roman Pericles."

HADRIAN, MARBLE BUST, A.D. 130-140. NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS DEA/ALBUM

Trajan had expanded Rome to its greatest limits, leaving behind a sprawling empire for Hadrian in 117. New foes had arisen in the east, and Hadrian knew that stabilizing the eastern lands could help make ruling the massive empire a more manageable task. Seeing the Greek world as key, he knew that his fascination with Hellenist culture could dovetail with his imperial duties. By lavishing honors on Greece, he sought to unify his great empire from east to west.

A Temple for All Time

During Hadrian's second stay, Athenians showered honors and plaudits on their returning son. In March 125 he presided over the Greater Dionysia, the city's ancient dramatic festival. But the emperor was not content with merely a passive role and set himself a monumental challenge: to finish the city's Olympieion, a temple dedicated to Olympian Zeus.

A temple had stood on the site since the sixth century B.C. In the second century B.C., the Seleucid kings, successors of Alexander the Great, attempted to rebuild it, without success. Emperor Augustus had toyed with restoring it to glory, but never did—and so Hadrian set out to succeed where others had failed.

Hadrian wanted the Olympieion to exceed the Parthenon in splendor. It was to have more than a hundred Corinthian columns, the most ornate variety. They would be adorned with acanthus leaves, a symbol of the regeneration of Greece brought about by himself as the "Roman Pericles." In his bold architectural vision, he pictured the Olympieion as the nerve center of a new district stretching along the Ilissos River. Immediately, local elites became caught up in the emperor's enthusiasm and joined forces to support the project, amid a jubilant expectation that glorious years lay ahead for Greece.

For the emperor's third visit in 128, Hadrian was accompanied on his grand tour by his lover, Antinous, then in his late teens, and renowned for his beauty. The two were invited to attend the Eleusinian Mysteries, a secret rite practiced by the city's elite, which centered on the myth of Demeter and Persephone. After taking their fill of Athenian hospitality, Hadrian continued toward Egypt. In 130 Antinous drowned under mysterious circumstances while being conveyed by boat along the Nile. A year later, still grieving, Hadrian began his last imperial visit to Athens for the consecration of the Olympieion.

GLORY OF ZEUS

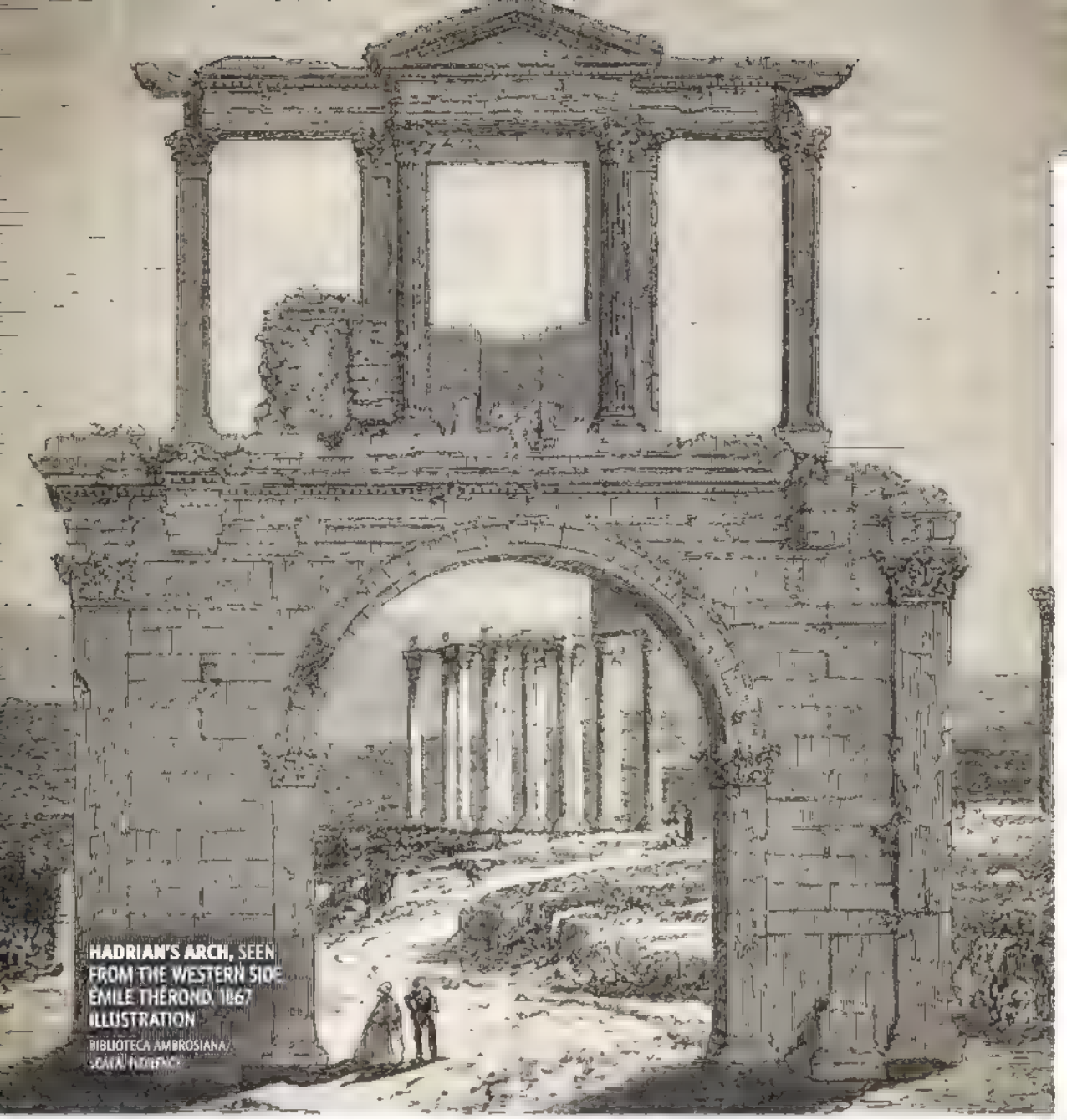
Begun centuries earlier, the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens was finally completed in A.D. 131. Its 104 Corinthian columns stood 55 feet tall; only 15 of the originals still stand today (not all of which can be seen here).

HERCULES MILAS/ALAMY/ACI

ROMAN REMAINS

As night falls on Athens, the remains of Hadrian's monuments—including the magnificent library (center) destroyed in A.D. 267—are brightly lit beneath the Parthenon atop the Acropolis.

MILAN GONDA/AGE FOTOSTOCK



HADRIAN'S ARCH, SEEN FROM THE WESTERN SIDE. ÉMILE THÉROND, 1867 ILLUSTRATION

BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA/SCALA, FIRENZE

Hadrian's Miracle Arch

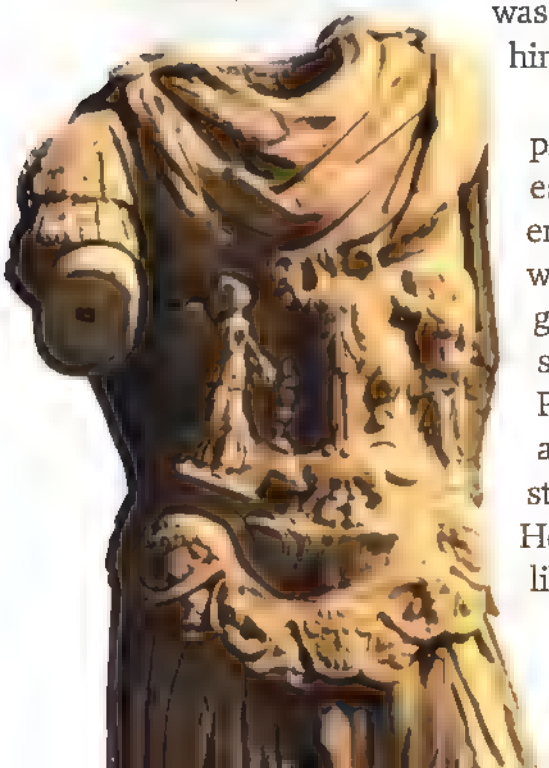
SURROUNDED by busy modern streets, the fact the Arch of Hadrian is still standing after so many centuries is an archaeological miracle. The 59-foot-high structure, topped with an architrave, is made from marble from Mount Pentelicus, also used for the Parthenon. The arch was built by Athenians to welcome Hadrian in A.D. 131.

ON THE WEST SIDE, an inscription reads "This is Athens, the ancient city of Theseus"; on the east, "This is the city of Hadrian, and not of Theseus." Early scholarship considered the arch marked a physical boundary between old Athens and a new "Hadrianopolis." Recent studies suggest there is no such boundary, and that the words, by portraying Hadrian as a new Theseus, were the greatest compliment that could be paid to the Roman emperor.

BODY POLITIC

A replica (below) of an ancient statue of Hadrian in battle armor stands in the Roman Agora in Athens today. Approximately 30 statues similar to it once stood in the Temple of Olympian Zeus.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI



It had been a busy few years for the city. Awash with imperial money, the Athenians were embarking on huge building projects, including the just completed Arch of Hadrian to welcome their returning patron. The inauguration ceremony in the newly completed Olympieion was held in the presence of envoys from all over the Roman world. According to second-century historian Pausanias, the temple housed a colossal ivory and gold statue of Zeus, exceeding in size "all others except the Colossi of Rhodes and Rome." The temple's dedication to Zeus was nominal: It was essentially a center for the cult of Hadrian himself.

During this visit, the emperor was no less prolific in his efforts to build up Athens. He established the Panhellenion, a Greek federation drawn from seven Roman provinces, which would hold annual assemblies and games. Historians consider the league as essentially cultural and symbolic. The sense of Panhellenic ("All the Greeks") is questionable, as Hadrian's own notions of what constituted Greekness were highly romanticized. He also ordered of the construction of a new library, the largest Athens had ever seen. On completion it included upper galleries for storage and an arcaded courtyard with gardens and a pond.

Hadrian never returned to Athens after 132. He died in 138, near Naples. His Athenian projects might have initially outlasted him, but they too fell to the passage of time. The last Panhellenia were held in the 250s, and then, in 267, Athens was sacked by the Germanic Heruli peoples. Many of its monuments were destroyed, and the city shrank in size and preeminence.

Two centuries after Hadrian's death, the cultural center of the Roman Empire did shift to the east, but farther than he had imagined. In 330 Emperor Constantine moved Rome's imperial capital to Byzantium, later renamed Constantinople in his honor. This city, and not Athens, became the heart of the new Roman Empire.

JUAN PABLO SÁNCHEZ IS A SPECIALIST IN CLASSICAL HISTORY AND LITERATURE, AND A TRANSLATOR OF PLUTARCH'S *PARALLEL LIVES*.

Learn more

Hadrian and the Triumph of Rome
Anthony Everitt, Random House, 2009

The Greeks: An Illustrated History
Diane Harris Cline, National Geographic Books, 2016

HALLS OF KNOWLEDGE

The ruins of Hadrian's library, destroyed in 267 [illegible] all that is left of what second-century historian Paus[illegible] glowingly described [illegible]

RAPHAEL

RENAISSANCE MASTER OF GRACE AND BEAUTY

Five hundred years ago, Raffaello Sanzio died at the age of 37. In his short life, the artist produced an influential body of work, known for his incorporation of Renaissance ideals into his own distinct style.

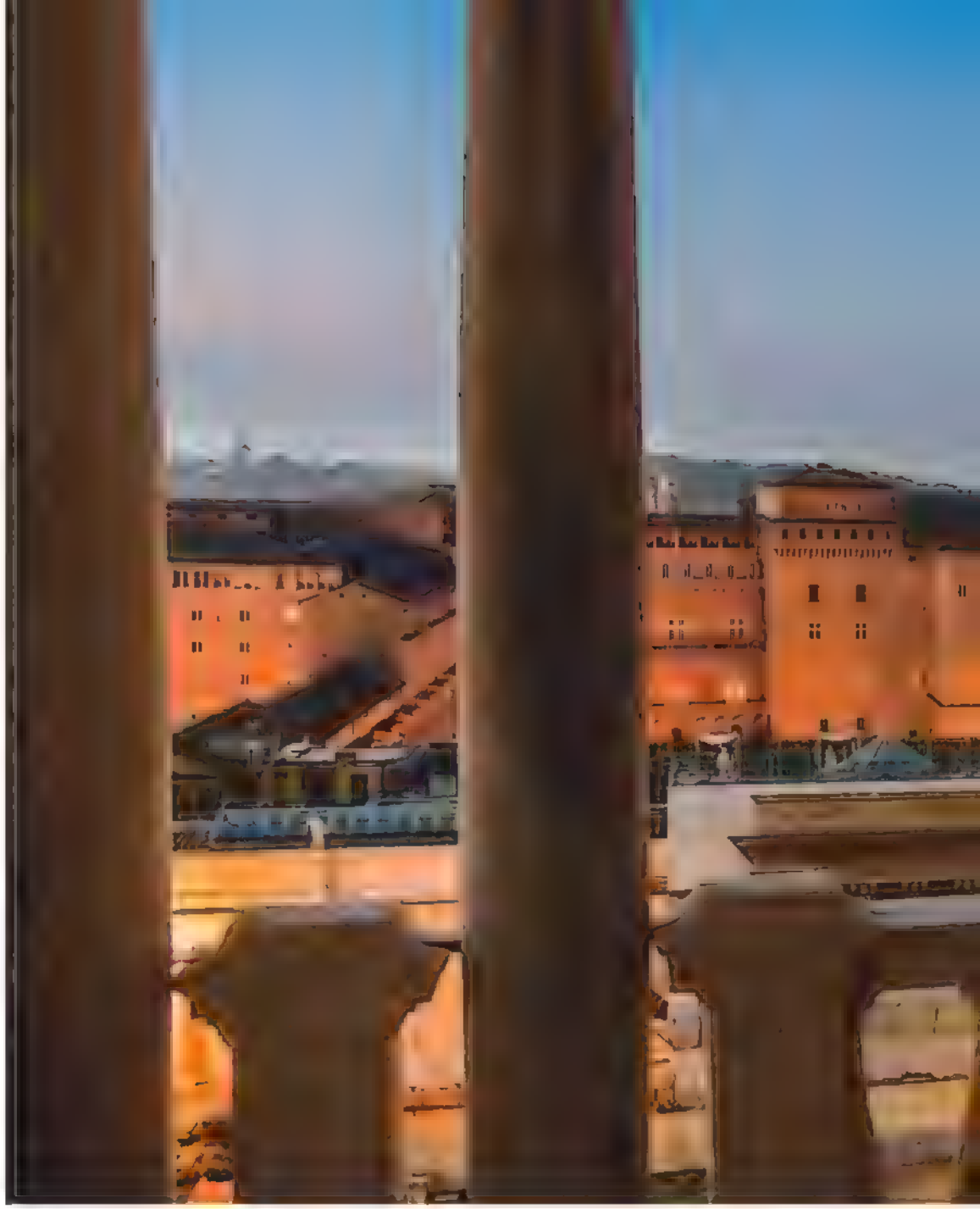
ALESSANDRA PAGANO

VENUS AND PSYCHE
SKETCH BY RAPHAEL FOR THE VILLA FARNES NA LOJVRE MUSEUM, PARIS
AKG/ALBUM

FRESH TALENT

Newly arrived in Florence and in his early 20s, Raphael painted this self-portrait in tempera on wood between 1504 and 1506. Uffizi Galleries, Florence

SCALA, FLORENCE



Renaissance Italy was a time of ruthlessness in politics and exquisite sensibility in art and culture, two extremes that shaped the life and art of Raffaello Sanzio, better known to the world today as Raphael. Younger than Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, whose influences he absorbed—and then matched—Raphael was a great Renaissance artist of harmony, proportion, and grace.

Although his masterpieces served the naked power politics of the day, and were commissioned by influential churchmen, bankers and a pope, they were also infused with tenderness and subtlety. The 16th-century painter and biographer Giorgio Vasari wrote in his *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects:* "Most artists have hitherto displayed something of folly and savagery . . . In Raphael, on the other hand, the rarest gifts were combined with such grace, diligence, beauty, modesty and good character that they would have sufficed to cover the ugliest vice."

By 1508 the young artist, already well-known in Florence for the brilliant Madonnas he had painted there, received a fateful summons from Pope Julius II: a commission to paint his Vatican apartments. The series of masterpieces that he created in these four staterooms, including "The Disputation of the Holy Sacrament," and "The School of Athens," forged Raphael's fame as the "prince of painters." His talent for clear storytelling through complex grouping, gesture, and color celebrated Catholic orthodoxy, pagan mythology, and humanist scholarship, linking all the tensions and glories of his age.

Early Influences

Raphael was born in Urbino in northeastern Italy in 1483, the only surviving child of Magia di Battista Ciarla and Giovanni Santi, a painter in the court of the Duke of Urbino. Under the duke's patronage, the city-state was a hub of cultural activity, and the duke could count the brilliant painter and mathematician Piero della Francesca among his courtiers.

POWERHOUSE

The rebuilding of St. Peter's Basilica (above) began under Pope Julius II. After the death of its chief architect in 1514, Raphael assumed the position.

GUIDO COZZI/FOTOTECA 9X12

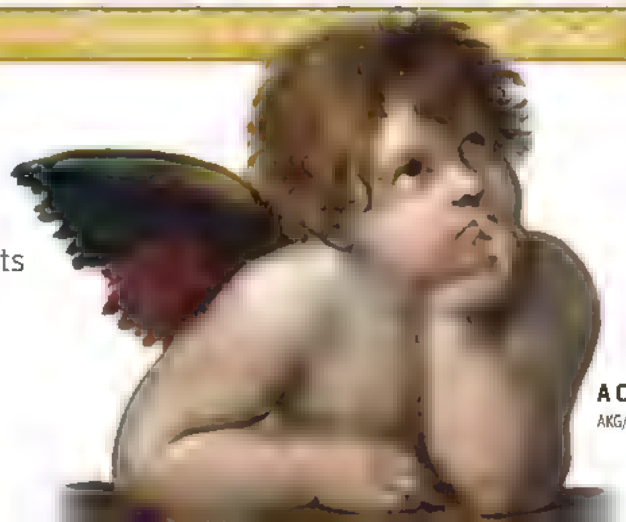
Raphael's parents both passed away when he was a child. His mother died in 1491. Before his father's death in 1494, his father, whom Vasari described as an undistinguished painter, imparted the rudiments of painting to his son at an early age. The boy's extraordinary talent was evident, and Raphael was sent to the nearby city of Perugia as an apprentice in the studio of Pietro Perugino.

Raphael's time in Perugia built the foundation for his remarkable career. At age 17 Raphael

THE PRINCE OF PAINTERS

1483 The son of a painter, Raphael is born in Urbino where the local duke employs many humanist artists and scholars in his court.

1500 Following an apprenticeship in Perugia, Raphael, age 17, is commissioned to paint an altarpiece in the Umbrian town of Città di Castello.



A CHERUB IN RAPHAEL'S 1513 "SISTINE MADONNA"
AKG/ALBUM

produced his first recorded work with a contemporary of his father's. It was an altarpiece of a church in the Perugian town of Città di Castello (the altarpiece was later badly damaged in an earthquake). For this work, he is documented as serving as master and not apprentice, a sign of the high regard in which he was held despite his young age.

Although he also received training from another court painter, Timoteo Viti, Raphael remained deeply influenced by Perugino, whose distinctive compositions and use of perspective can be seen mirrored in Raphael's "The Marriage of the Virgin." Painted in 1504 when he was just 21, Raphael's first major work takes Perugino's gifts and adapts them to create his own masterpiece.

Florentine Flair

The next phase of Raphael's life would be marked by building on all he had learned in Perugia and blending it with new influences to create his own distinctive visual style. Key to this process would be exposure to the great masters working at the time. Raphael traveled first to Siena and then to Florence, the epicenter of Renaissance painting. Vasari wrote that

1508

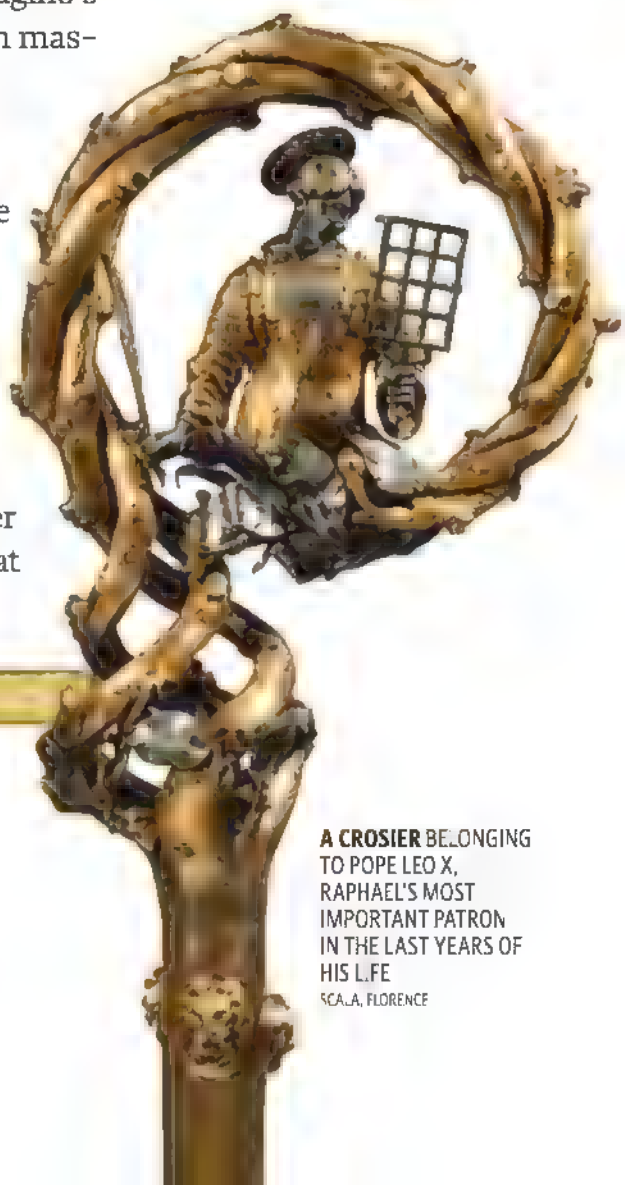
After four years in Florence studying the city's great art collections, Raphael is summoned to Rome by Pope Julius II to paint the papal apartments.

1513

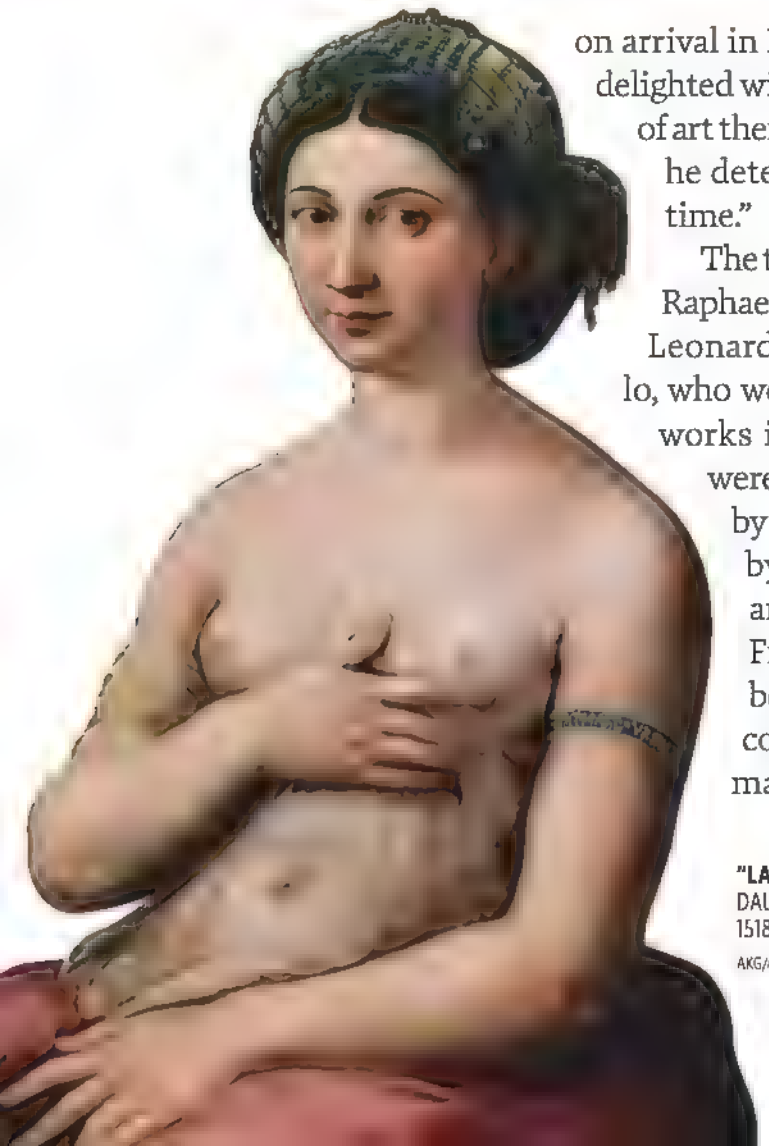
Raphael continues his work with the Vatican after the death of Pope Julius II. He will paint some of his greatest portraits, including that of the next pope, Leo X.

1520

At age 37, Raphael falls ill and dies on Good Friday. After a lavish funeral, attended by crowds of mourners, he is buried in the Pantheon.



A CROSIER BELONGING TO POPE LEO X, RAPHAEL'S MOST IMPORTANT PATRON IN THE LAST YEARS OF HIS LIFE
SCALA, FLORENCE



"LA FORNARINA" ("THE BAKER'S DAUGHTER"), BY RAPHAEL, OIL ON BOARD, 1518-19. BARBER N | PALACE, ROME

AKG/ALBUM

on arrival in Florence, Raphael "was no less delighted with the city than with the works of art there, which he thought divine, and he determined to live there for some time."

The two principal talents who shaped Raphael during this crucial phase were Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, who were creating some of their best works in the early 1500s. Both men were older than Raphael (Leonardo by 31 years and Michelangelo only by eight), and Raphael adopted and modified their techniques. From Leonardo, he mimicked both Leonardo's pyramid-shaped compositions and his use of sfumato, a technique that relies on soft, fine shading rather than harsh lines. The Madonna series that Raphael produced in his Florence years—including the "The Madonna of the Goldfinch" (1505) and a Madonna later named "La Belle Jardinière" (1507)—draw heavily from Leonardo's depictions of the Holy Family. A series of women's portraits also share similarities with the composition of the "Mona Lisa."

With Michelangelo, Raphael not only observed how accurate rendering of human anatomy could reveal the sublime, he also became engaged in one of art history's greatest rivalries. Michelangelo did not care for Raphael at all; some art historians attribute his ill will stemming from losing a commission to the younger artist in 1508.

Roman Triumph

Raphael beat both Leonardo and Michelangelo to secure a commission from Pope Julius II to create frescoes at the Vatican. The young artist relocated to Rome and began work around 1508.

AN ARTIST AND HIS MUSE

Above, "Raphael and la Fornarina," a 19th-century oil painting by Gerolamo Induno, reflects the enduring fascination in the story of Raphael's love for Margherita Luti, nicknamed "la Fornarina," the baker's daughter.

FINE ART/ALBUM

Michelangelo was working on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel during this time, and art historians believe that the two artists' competitive relationship drove both their works to greater heights. Completed in 1511, Raphael's four frescoes on the walls of the Stanza della Segnatura, the papal library, are among his finest works, especially "The School of Athens," which many regard as his masterpiece. The work contains depictions of 50 philosophers, including Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Ptolemy, Euclid, Averroes, and Hypatia of Alexandria.

Art historians believe that Raphael used his contemporaries as inspiration for his figures. The central figure of Plato, who points to the sky, is modeled after Leonardo da Vinci. A lone, brooding figure sits in the foreground, his head resting on his hand. Many believe this bearded figure is Michelangelo. Raphael also placed himself in the portrait at the far right. He stands next to Zoroaster (who holds a celestial sphere) and Ptolemy who holds a globe.

Raphael would continue to work at the Vatican by himself and with apprentices to create frescoes for other papal chambers. He also took on private commissions, including portraits, and architecture. Pope Julius's banker, Agostino Chigi, commissioned Raphael's design of his funerary chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo in 1513. After Pope Julius II's death in 1513, his successor, Leo X, continued working closely with the talented Urbino painter. He appointed Raphael as director of the building works at St. Peter's when Donato Bramante, the original architect, died in 1514. In 1515 the pope commissioned designs from Raphael for 10 massive tapestries that would hang in the Sistine Chapel.

Earthly Pleasures

Raphael spent the rest of his life in Rome. He founded his own studio and employed as many as 50 artists and pupils to work with him on his new commissions. He never married nor had children. Vasari wrote that Raphael might have been delaying marriage because he believed a future appointment as cardinal could be coming from the pope.

Despite this reasoning, Raphael did develop a reputation as a ladies' man. Vasari wrote that "Raffaello was a very amorous person, delighting much in women," including courtesans. According to tradition, Raphael's great love was Margherita Luti, a baker's daughter and almost certainly the model for Raphael's beautiful portrait "La Fornarina," painted in 1518–1519. He was also known for his intensely creative friendships, especially with the diplomat and scholar Baldassare Castiglione, the subject of one of Raphael's most engaging portraits.

In 1517, rich and successful, Raphael bought the Palazzo Caprini in Rome, where he died on Good Friday, 1520. Vasari attributed Raphael's death to sexual overindulgence, hinting at venereal disease, but the true cause of death is unknown. Raphael was laid to rest in the Pantheon. His epitaph reads: "Here lies Raphael. Living, great Nature feared he might outvie Her works; and, dying, fears herself may die."

NG MAPS

ITALIAN ART HISTORIAN ALESSANDRA PAGANO HAS WRITTEN EXTENSIVELY ON RENAISSANCE ARTISTS, INCLUDING BOTTICELLI

EARLY WORKS

FIRST STEPS OF A MASTER

▲ *ST. MICHAEL*
OIL ON BOARD, 1503-05. LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS
TONY QUERREC/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

Raphael was sent to study in the workshop of Perugian artist Pietro Perugino when he was a boy. Perugino was admired for his mastery of perspective, a technique on display in his 1481 painting "Delivery of the Keys" (below). Perugino's work depicts the moment Christ hands the keys of the kingdom of heaven to St. Peter. The carefully arranged scene takes place in a large square with the lines of perspective converging in the central doorway in the background.

▼ ***DELIVERY OF THE KEYS*** (DETAIL), BY PIETRO PERUGINO, 1481, SISTINE CHAPEL, VATICAN MUSEUMS
ALBUM/FINE ART IMAGES

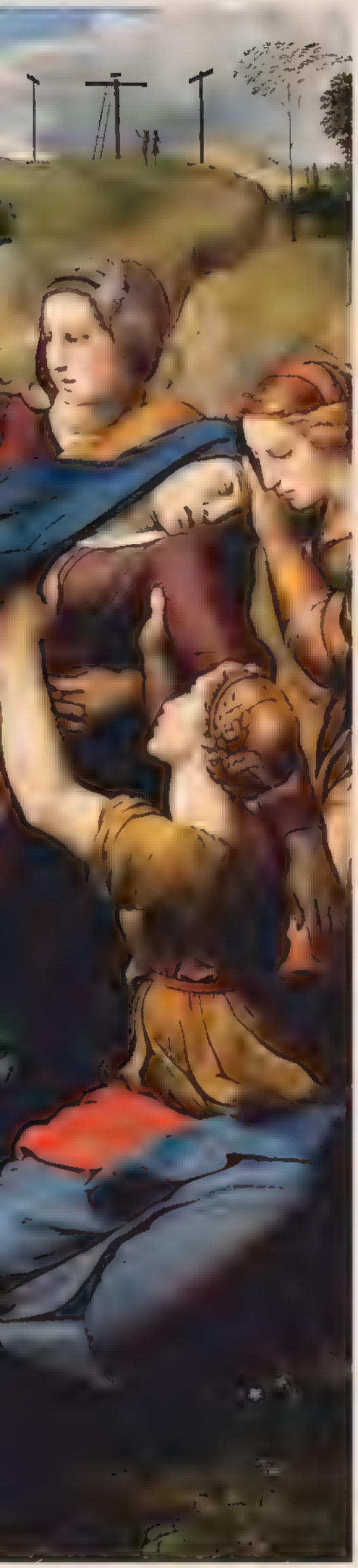
A Complex Harmony

Unsurprisingly, Raphael's early paintings bear the strong imprint of his teacher. The 1504 painting "The Marriage of the Virgin," for a chapel of the Albizzini family in the church of San Francesco al Prato, in Città di Castello, shows clear similarities with the earlier painting by Perugino. It too takes place in a Renaissance square. Two groups in the foreground flank the central characters, the Virgin Mary and Joseph, who is placing a ring on her finger. Space and perspective are built up by the figures in the square behind, receding in size, and, as with Perugino's painting, the lines of perspective converge on the doorway of the church.

Behind the groom stand Mary's other suitors who all carry sticks. Joseph also holds one, but his is blooming. Raphael's work illustrates a popular legend. According to the story, Mary presented sticks to all her suitors, telling them that she would marry the one whose blossomed, a sign of divine favor.

Raphael was not merely content with perfecting the perspectival relations between the figures; he also used their positioning to create a complex harmony. There is nothing haphazard or accidental about their placement: Beauty, to Raphael, was about calculation and artifice, "making things not as Nature makes them, but as Nature should." ■

THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN ▶
OIL ON BOARD, 1504
PINACOTECA DI BRERA, MILAN
SCALA, FLORENCE



LEONARDO AND MICHELANGELO

THE MASTERS' INFLUENCE

On his arrival in Florence in fall 1504, Raphael knew his future lay in other artists. By observing their techniques and folding them into his style, he could develop his own visual language. He began studying many of the past masters and the great works of his contemporaries, including Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo.

The Madonnas painted by Raphael in his Florentine period were influenced by Leonardo's 1503 work "The Virgin and St. Anne," which depicts a lamb held by the Christ Child as his mother Mary embraces him. The Virgin is, in turn, seated on the lap of her mother, St. Anne. The figures form a pyramid, and their complex interactions influenced several of Raphael's Florentine Madonnas, which feature multiple figures, including "La Belle Jardinière" ("The Beautiful Gardener"). In this work, as well as other depictions of the Virgin, such as "The Madonna of the Goldfinch," Raphael grouped Christ, the Virgin, and St. John the Baptist in a similar pyramid formation.

◀ ***THE DEPOSITION* (ALSO KNOWN AS *THE BORGHESE ENTOMBMENT*),** OIL ON BOARD, 1507. BORGHESE GALLERY, ROME

JOSEPH MART N / A.BUM

Sorrow and Grief

Raphael's Madonnas display the warm, tender relationship between a mother and her child, but he was also capable of showing stronger emotions: grief, despair, and pain. Commissioned by a woman whose son had been murdered, Raphael's 1507 "The Deposition" shows the lifeless body of Christ being borne to his tomb. The Virgin Mary, in blue veil, faints from the agony of her loss. The anatomy, weight, and positioning of the figures, especially the kneeling woman before the Virgin, are reminiscent of those in Michelangelo's works such as the "Doni Tondo" and the unfinished "Battle of Cascina." Despite their professional rivalry, Raphael looked to both men for ways to improve his own techniques. ■

◀ ***LA BELLE JARDINIÈRE* (ALSO KNOWN AS *THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH THE INFANT SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST*),** OIL ON BOARD, 1507. LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS

JOSSE /SCALA FLORENCE

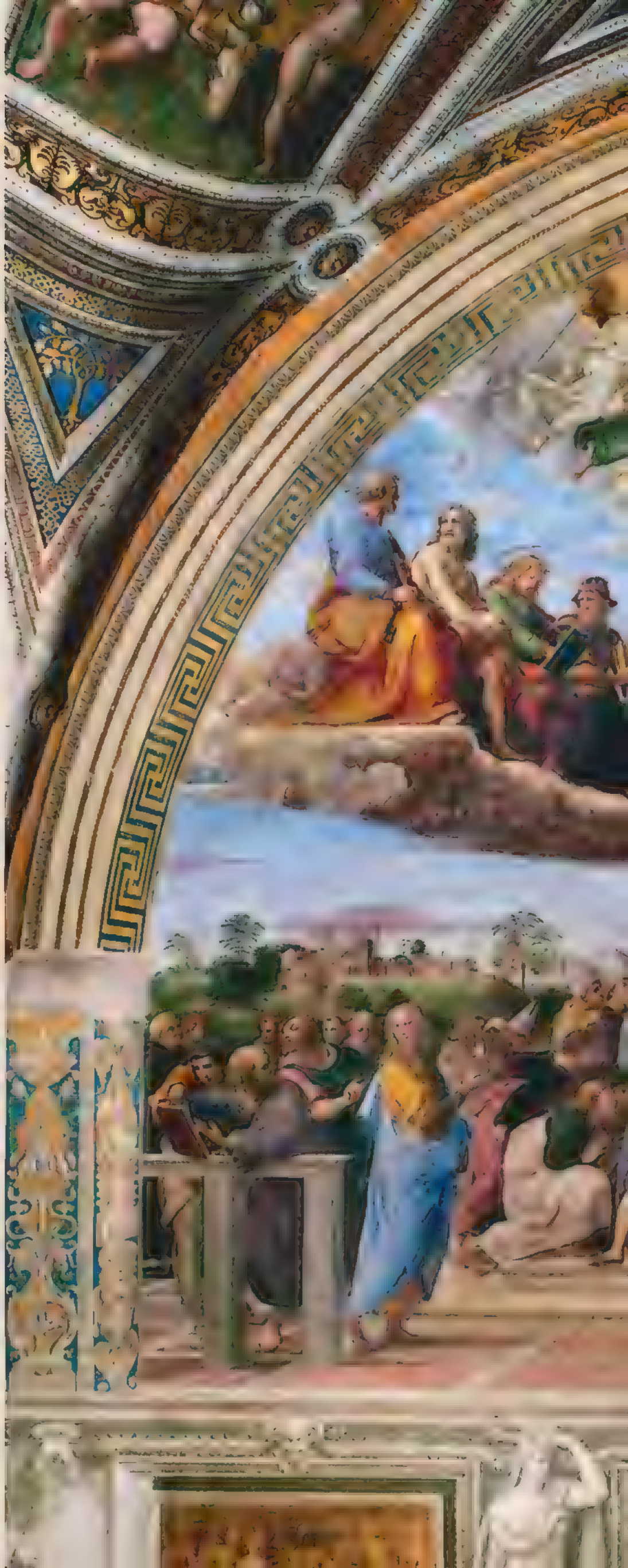
THE RAPHAEL ROOMS

THE VATICAN FRESCOES

Of the four Vatican rooms Raphael was commissioned to paint in 1508, the most well known is the Stanza della Segnatura, Pope Julius's library. It features four great frescoes on the walls, each representing a different theme—law, poetry, theology, and philosophy—to harmoniously connect classic education with the church's teachings. The most famous fresco, "The School of Athens," depicts philosophy by showing the great minds of history gathered before Plato and Aristotle.

Christian Counterweight

Renaissance Christians believed that the great humanist ideas of the past were completed and perfected by Christ, and the fresco Raphael painted directly across from "The School of Athens" displays that theme of theology. "The Disputation of the Holy Sacrament" acts as a mirror and counterweight to philosophy, with similar composition and palette, but different focal points. The upper part of the painting is the kingdom of heaven centered on Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist. Above them in a golden realm sits God the Father and the angels. Below them on Earth, theologians and popes debate the miraculous properties of the Sacrament contained in the vessel on the altar. Echoing the composition of "The School Of Athens," the groupings are complex and interrelated, but unlike the great philosophy painting, the theologians are not depicted inside a building, but outside in nature below a bright blue sky. ■



THE DISPUTATION OF THE HOLY SACRAMENT ▶
FRESCO, CA 1509-1510, VAT CAN MUSEUMS
SCALA, FLORENCE

GREAT MINDS

Some 50 thinkers from the past form a colorful group in Raphael's 1509-1511 masterpiece, "The School of Athens." Commissioned for Pope Julius II's Vatican library, the composition centers on Aristotle and Plato, with the latter modeled on Leonardo da Vinci. Heraclitus of Ephesus, the solitary figure leaning on a block, is believed to be a portrait of Michelangelo.

ALBUM/SCIENCE SOURCE/NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

PORTRAITS OF RAPHAEL

IDEALS AND REALITY

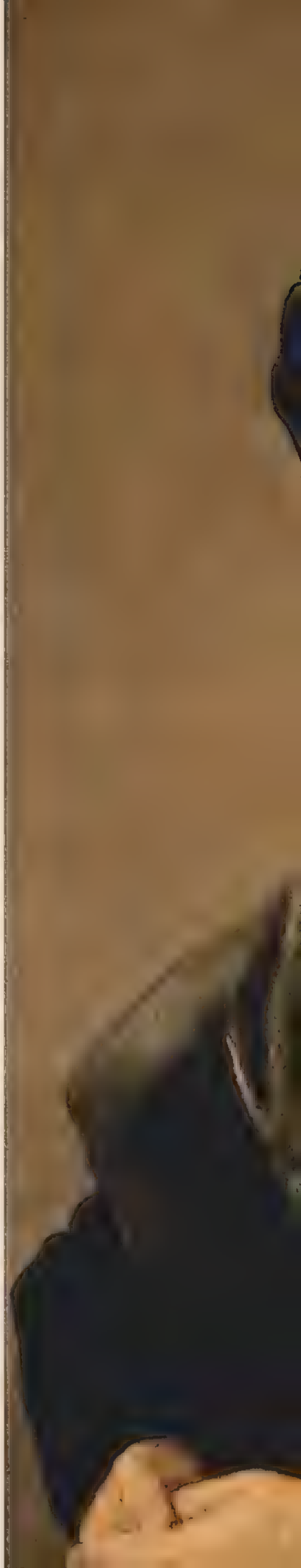
During the Renaissance, portraits were a means for individuals to project their power, and an opportunity for the greatest painters to revel in their mastery. Raphael had painted portraits throughout his career, but as he acquired both fame and experience, these became more formally daring. Sometimes, Raphael painted likenesses as an act of friendship, such as that of the diplomat Baldassare Castiglione. Depicted in a three-quarter profile, the softness of his furs and the subtlety of the colors all help focus attention on his intense blue eyes. Some of Raphael's sitters have not been identified with certainty. "La Velata" ("The Veiled One") is one example, although it is likely she is the same figure depicted in "La Fornarina." The sfumato shading around her face is reminiscent of Leonardo, and Raphael has taken great care in the detail of her sleeve.

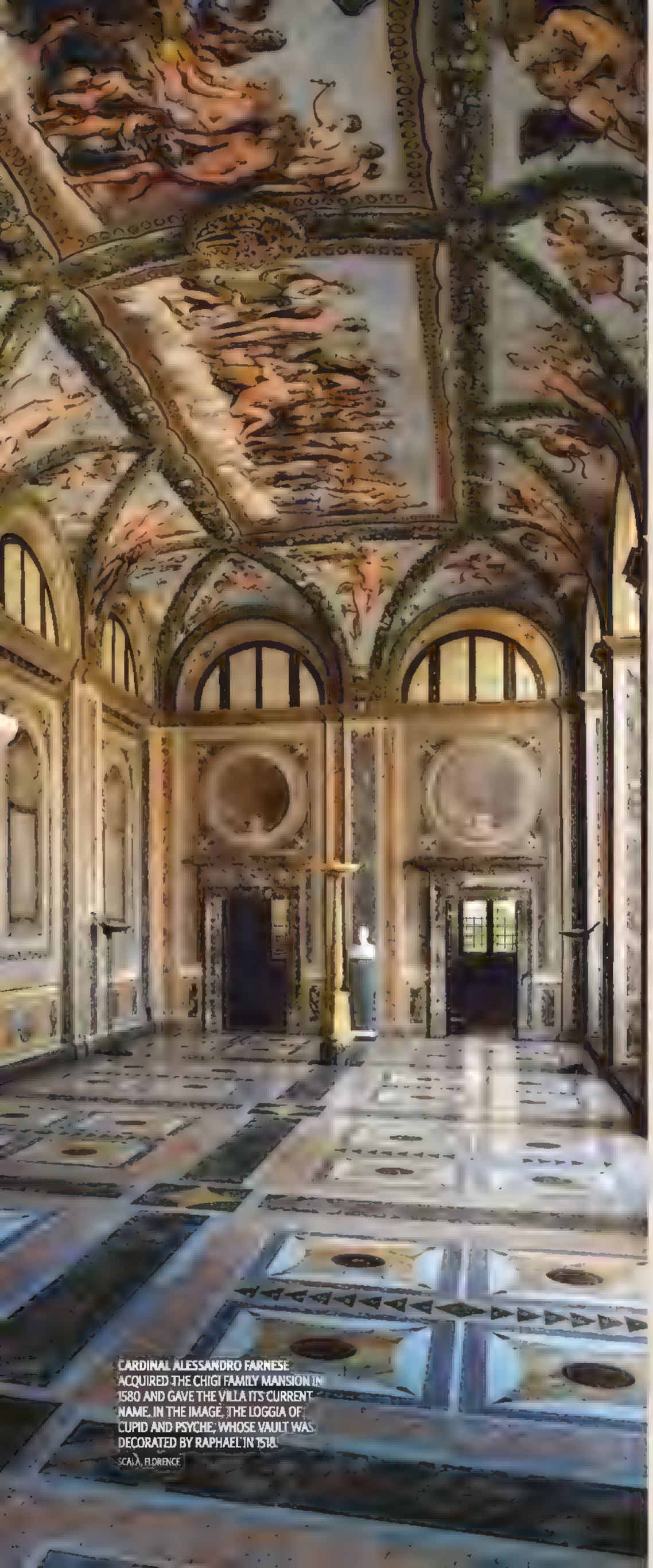
Portrait of a Pope

Painted near the end of his life, Raphael's "Leo X With Two Cardinals" is a highly inventive break with formal portraiture in the Renaissance, which tended to idealize its subjects. Leo X is realistically shown as the middle-aged man he was. An open prayer book lies before him, but the pope must use the magnifying glass he is holding to read it. His attendants have been identified as Giulio de'Medici (the future Pope Clement VII) and Cardinal Luigi de' Rossi, whose hands rest on the back of the papal throne. Decorated with rich red velvet and detailed brocade, the composition beckons viewers in to a somber conference, perhaps where Leo X was considering the turmoil stirred up the year before by Martin Luther's challenge to papal authority. ■

BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE ▶
OIL ON BOARD, 1514
LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS
SCALA, FLORENCE

LA VELATA (FAR RIGHT), ▶
OIL ON BOARD, 1512-15
PITTI PALACE, FLORENCE
SCALA, FLORENCE





CARDINAL ALESSANDRO FARNESE ACQUIRED THE CHIGI FAMILY MANSION IN 1580 AND GAVE THE VILLA ITS CURRENT NAME. IN THE IMAGE, THE LOGGIA OF CUPID AND PSYCHE, WHOSE VAULT WAS DECORATED BY RAPHAEL IN 1518.
SCALA, FLORENCE

MERMEN AND CUPIDS

MYTHS AND BEAUTY

A master of portraiture and religious-themed paintings, Raphael rarely forayed into mythology, but when his banker patron Agostino Chigi commissioned him to decorate part of his new villa in 1512, Raphael applied all his compositional genius and feeling for color to create "The Triumph of Galatea." The most famous of the frescoes of the Villa Farnesina, the work depicts an episode from a story originally told by the Roman poet Ovid. The Nereid Galatea has fallen in love with a shepherd, Acis, but her consort, the cyclops Polyphemus, becomes jealous and murders him. A 15th-century poem by the Tuscan poet Poliziano describes Galatea's rejection as a triumph of higher, Platonic love over carnal love. Poliziano's interpretation was a new twist on the Galatea story and reflected the Neoplatonic ideals of higher love fashionable among Florence's intellectuals. Raphael depicted Galatea in this moment as she escapes the cyclops. Surrounded by mermen, she drives a shell chariot pulled by dolphins.

Room of Love

The date the Galatea was painted is uncertain, but it can probably be placed sometime around 1512 because that is when a description of such a painting in Chigi's villa is first recorded. In 1518 Raphael returned to his friend's villa to design a room centered on the myth of Cupid and Psyche. The beautiful paintings, while sketched by Raphael, were almost entirely the creations of Raphael's pupils: Giovanni Francesco Penni, Giulio Romano, and Giovanni da Udine.

THE TRIUMPH OF GALATEA ▶
FRESCO, 1512, VILLA FARNESINA, ROME
SCALA, FLORENCE

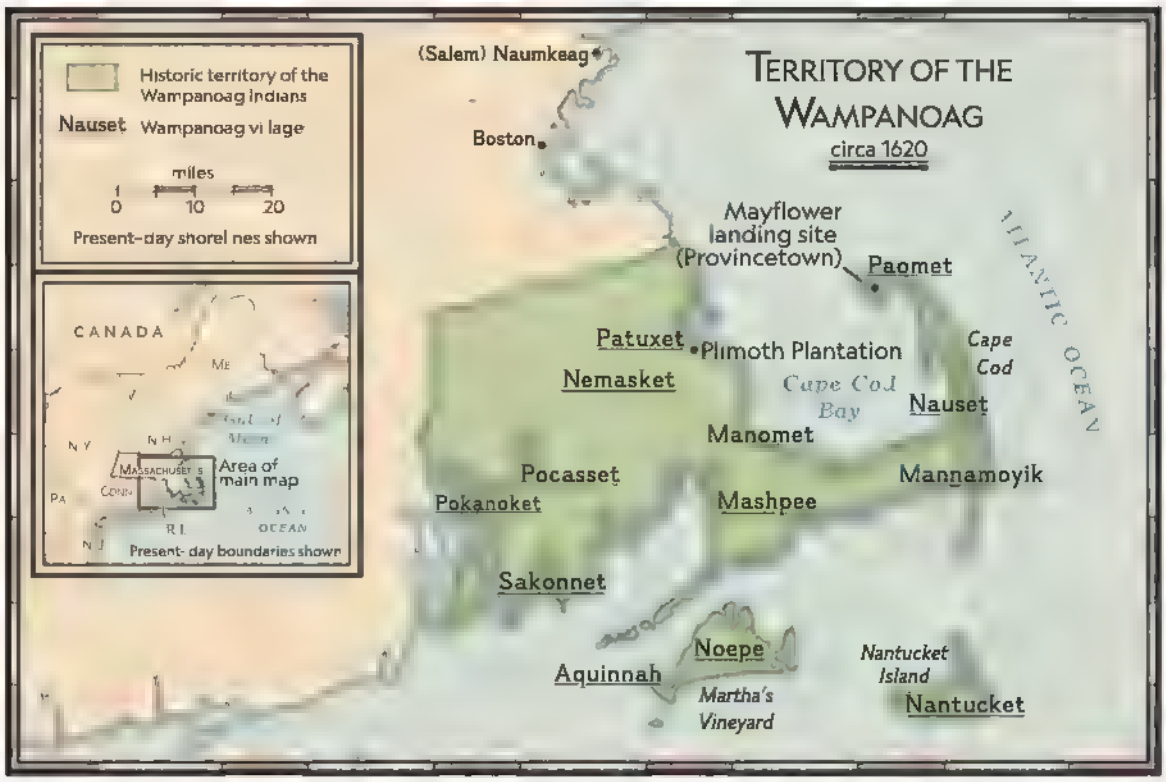
KEEPING WATCH
The bronze statue of Massasoit looks over Plymouth Harbor as the sun rises over the water. Cyrus E. Dallin created the work to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the Pilgrims landing in North America.
RUSSELL KORD/ALAMY

SACHEM OF THE WAMPANOAG

MASSASOIT

Massasoit patiently observed the Pilgrims for six months before making contact with them in 1621. His measured approach, built on a history of violent encounters with Europeans, resulted in a long alliance with the English that kept the peace for decades.

DAVID J. SILVERMAN



NG MAPS

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, A FRENCH EXPLORER, MAPPED THE COAST OF WHAT IS NOW PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS, IN 1605.
SARIN IMAGES/GRANGER

When the Wampanoag Ousamequin, popularly remembered as Massasoit, first visited Plymouth Colony in spring 1621, the English could plainly tell that he was the leader of his people. He marched at the head of 60 armed warriors, described by Pilgrim observers as "all strong, tall, all men in appearance." He alone wore "a great chain of white . . . beads" made of drilled, polished shells. His face paint was not black like earlier Wampanoag visitors to Plymouth, but "a sad [or deep] red," symbolizing blood, life, and war. Later, Ousamequin gave a "great speech" in which he "named at least thirty places" under his governance.

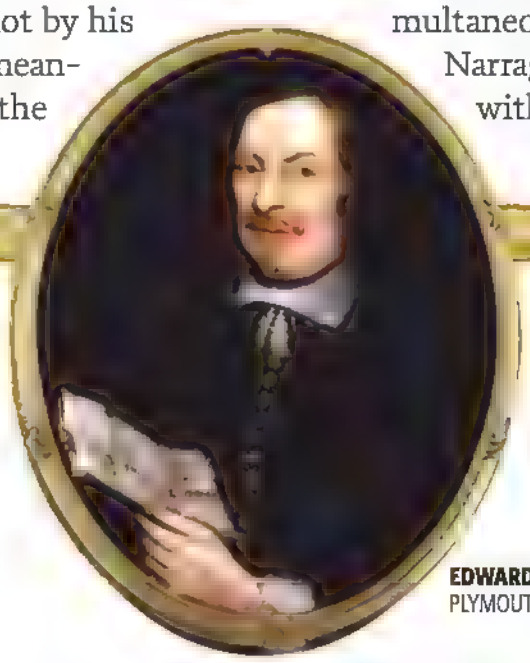
The Wampanoag called their community chiefs "sachems," meaning "he that goes in front." Ousamequin certainly fit that description, but for the wider Wampanoag people, stretching across what is now southern Massachusetts and eastern Rhode Island, he represented something more. He was a *ketassachemog,* or great sachem, who led the Wampanoag in foreign trade, diplomacy, and war, and collected tribute from them in exchange. He was so prominent that most people knew him not by his proper name of Ousamequin (meaning "yellow feather"), but by the title Massasoit, meaning "the highest chief that speaks on behalf."

Ousamequin projected authority, but his influence over the Wampanoag was tenuous. It rested on his ability to defend them against foreign enemies while negotiating trade and mutual protection with allies. Sometimes it also required him to use force against domestic rivals. Such challenges were daunting normally, but, in 1620, Ousamequin had to address them amid an unprecedented three-tier crisis: recovering from a devastating and unfamiliar epidemic, simultaneously warding off attacks by Narragansett enemies, and dealing with an unexpected settlement

LIFE OF A SACHEM

CIRCA 1590

Ousamequin is born. During his childhood, the Wampanoag experience regular violent encounters with Europeans, who capture and sell them into slavery.



1616-19

The Wampanoag are devastated by a foreign epidemic disease. Their numbers drop by more than 50 percent. The largely unaffected Narragansett are able to subjugate the Wampanoag.

EDWARD WINSLOW, 1651 PORTRAIT. PILGRIM HALL MUSEUM, PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS ART COLLECTION/ALAMY

COLONIZE AND CAPTURE

EUROPEAN ENSLAVERS

Europeans commonly enslaved Native Americans, sometimes to work in the Colonies, sometimes for sale overseas. One scholar recently estimated that Europeans and Euro-Americans enslaved as many as five million indigenous Americans in the Western Hemisphere during the colonial period. In the 1600s European explorers would seize Indians for sale or training as interpreters and guides. In 1611 Englishman Edward Harlow went on a captive-taking rampage stretching from Monhegan Island in Maine south to Cape Cod. One of his victims, Epenow of Martha's Vineyard, returned home in 1614 after three years captivity in London. Likewise, in 1614, Englishman Thomas Hunt kidnapped 27 Wampanoags in two separate incidents and sold them into slavery in Málaga, Spain. In later years, the greatest threat of enslavement to New England Indians came from the English taking them prisoner in wartime. Thousands suffered that fate.

of Englishmen. The traditional Thanksgiving story ignores this context in favor of depicting Ousamequin as inherently friendly toward the Pilgrims. That is false. Rather, he was shrewd about how to use these newcomers when his authority and the very survival of his people were in peril.

The Wampanoag World

Southern New England, where Ousamequin's Wampanoag lived, was among the most densely populated areas of Native North America, and, as such, a site of intense political intrigue. In the early 1600s it contained an estimated 130,000 people, all speakers of closely related Algonquian languages, though they belonged to different tribes.

This large population extended from the richness of the area's natural resources and the people's ingenuity. Coastal New England is among the best-watered places in America, full of natural resources. There was a seemingly endless supply of saltwater and freshwater fish, shellfish, waterfowl, sea mammals, and amphibians. Estuaries contained seagrasses that could be woven into mats, baskets, and clothing. Wild fruits thrived along the tree line; inside the forest was an abundance of game and raw materials including hardwood trees and stone.

Sometime around the 14th century, southern

1620-21

The *Mayflower* lands in North America. The Pilgrims settle at Patuxet and name it "Plimoth." Ousamequin makes an alliance with the English, who call him by his title, Massasoit.

1629-1650

Aiding in his fight against the Narragansett, Ousamequin maintains an alliance with the Pilgrims and also sells numerous territories to the English, whose population is increasing.

1661

Ousamequin dies. His sons, Wamsutta and then Pumetacom, succeed him as the Wampanoag's paramount sachem.

MAPLE LADLE WITH A DECORATIVE BIRD'S HEAD. WAMPANOAG, 1681

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

EPIDEMIC. DURING THE 1600S, THE WAMPANOAG SUFFERED GREATLY FROM A MYSTERY AILMENT. HAND-COLORED WOODCUT, 17TH CENTURY

AKG/ALBUM

DEVASTATION

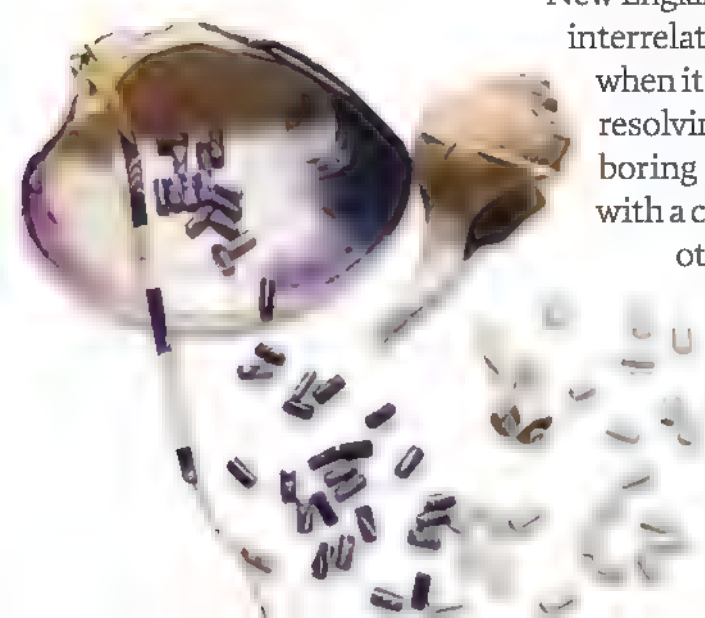
MYSTERY PLAGUE

Between 1616 and 1619, an epidemic struck the New England coast and devastated local, closely knit populations. The only firsthand accounts of it come from the Englishmen Richard Vines and Thomas Dermer, both of whom referred to it as "the plague," a term which could refer to epidemics generally as well as to the bubonic plague specifically. The noted symptoms did not match the swollen lymph nodes of the Black Death; Dermer described "sores" and "spots." Years later in 1671, missionary Daniel Gookin asked some Native elders to identify the disease, but they could only say "that their bodies all over were exceedingly yellow, describing it by a yellow garment." Gookin conceded, "What this disease was I cannot well learn," though "doubtless it was some pestilential disease." Scholars have proposed different culprits, including malignant confluent smallpox whose symptoms include not only the headache, spots, and sores but also the yellowing of the skin. The only thing that is known for certain is that Indians died in great numbers while Europeans seemed resistant to the disease.

PURPLE AND WHITE

The Wampanoag and Narragansett people greatly valued wampum, beads made from shells local to New England (below). Purple beads came from quahog clams, and the white beads from whelks.

STEPHEN LANG PHOTOGRAPHY



New England Indians added corn-beans-squash horticulture to their subsistence, spurring population growth and territoriality. In turn, the people developed two new forms of political organization to address the demands of this way of life: the local sachemship and the paramount sachemship.

Local sachemships were the locus of people's daily lives and the most stable political unit, whereas the paramount sachemship was a regional confederation that ebbed and flowed according to shared needs and strong, charismatic leaders. Nearly everyone in southern New England belonged to a town-size group of interrelated families who followed a sachem when it came to distributing planting lands, resolving disputes, and dealing with neighboring communities. A sachem consulted with a council of family representatives and other respected figures, with decisions emerging from consensus rather than majority vote. To fund political activities, the sachem collected tribute from the people in the form of crops, furs, game, and labor.

Each community also paid tribute and deference to a prominent regional figure, the ketassachemog or paramount sachem, who, with his own council, managed foreign affairs and settled disputes between the smaller polities. Today, these paramount sachemships are commonly referred to as tribes. During the early phases of colonization in southern New England, these groups included the Wampanoag, Narragansett, Pequot, and Mohegan.

All paramount sachemships consisted of a mix of voluntary and coercive political relationships. In the case of the Wampanoag, Ousamequin's core support came from communities along the Taunton River, which flows southwest across what is now southern Massachusetts before emptying into the northeast side of Narragansett Bay. Ousamequin's local sachemship of Pokanoket was located right at the river's mouth; most of the sachems along the waterway were his relatives. Yet Ousamequin's authority was weaker among more distant sachemships on Cape Cod and the islands of Martha's Vineyard

SACHEM'S
REGALIA

and Nantucket. His kin did not rule there, and it appears that his collection of tribute from these communities depended on compulsion.

Nevertheless, Ousamequin served an important role for all Wampanoag by leading them in war against the Narragansett, who lived on the west side of Narragansett Bay. Ousamequin said that this conflict stretched back to at least the time of his father, but he did not specify the reason. It most likely involved competition for planting grounds and tribute payers along Narragansett Bay. The tribute would have taken the form of wampum, or shell beads, that New England Indians manufactured from local quahog (in the case of purple beads) and periwinkle and whelk (in the case of white beads). Not only were these beads a coveted status symbol, but the powerful Mohawk of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (or Five Nations Iroquois) of what is now upstate New York, raided coastal peoples who did not furnish wampum for Haudenosaunee rituals. It was incumbent on the Wampanoag and Narragansett to meet the Mohawk demand in order to escape their attacks.

A Tumultuous 20 Years

During his early adulthood between 1600 and 1620, Ousamequin confronted not only the Narragansett but also new dangers from Europe. Europeans began exploring the southern New England coast intermittently as early as 1524 and annually every summer after 1602, 18 years before the arrival of the Pilgrims.

WAMPANOAG AX. ONE OF THE HUNDREDS OF ARTIFACTS RETURNED TO THE WAMPANOAG IN 2017

DAVID S. WEED, SOWAMSHER.TAGEAREA.ORG

These voyages presented both opportunity and grave danger for the Wampanoag. On the one hand, Europeans offered a variety of dazzling trade goods including metal tools and weapons, brightly colored cloth, and glass beads. On the other hand, Europeans tended to respond violently to real or imagined Indian threats. Additionally, Europeans often used trade as a pretense to take Indigenous people captive, either for slavery or for training as interpreters for future voyages. With the Wampanoag experiencing at least a dozen murderous clashes and abductions at the hands of the English and French before 1619, they soon learned to shoot first and ask questions later when sailing vessels appeared.

Remarkably, two Wampanoag captives managed to return home, after which they counseled their people about how to respond to the Pilgrims. The first was a Vineyard Wampanoag named Epenow, who was seized by English captain Edward Harlow in 1611. He spent three years in London before deceiving his captors that he could lead them to gold back in America. As soon as the ship carrying him reached familiar waters, he escaped. His ordeal made him an inveterate enemy of the English, including Plymouth Colony.

Another Wampanoag returnee was Tisquantum, better known today as Squanto. Tisquantum was one of two dozen Wampanoags seized in 1614 by the English and sold into slavery in Spain. Freed by Spanish friars and then brought to London by English merchants, five years later Tisquantum also orchestrated his way back home. He would go on to become Ousamequin's

METAL AND FUR

THE ENGLISH TRADE

English traders brought manufactured goods to North America that the Wampanoag desired, such as metal tools like axes, knives, kettles, awls, scissors, needles, and fishhooks. Certainly the Wampanoag already had their own versions made of wood, stone, and bone, but the metal items were sharper and more durable. They also wanted the Europeans' translucent glass beads; brightly colored bolts of woolen cloth; shirts, pants, and stockings; mirrors that enabled people to see themselves for the first time without looking into water; and pigments of red, black, and yellow. Europeans were seeking furs, particularly beaver pelts, for manufacture into hats, muffs, and robes. The sailors also desperately wanted fresh food to relieve them from the heavily salted fare of their overseas journey. Later, colonists traded with New England Indians for wampum (shell beads), which colonists then carried into the interior to trade with other Indians for fur.

interpreter and ambassador to the Pilgrims. However, first he had to confront the horror that had spread over Wampanoag country during his absence.

Between 1616 and 1619, an epidemic ravaged the Wampanoag as well as the Massachusett and Abenaki peoples to their north. Scholars have not been able to identify the specific disease (the best guess is smallpox). More certain is that the loss of life was incredible. Some Indians said that upwards of nine-tenths of their people had died. Afterward, unburied skeletons littered the landscape. Entire villages disappeared as the survivors abandoned the scenes of this nightmare. The lost communities included Tisquantum's home of Patuxet, on the very site where the English would later found Plymouth. What made things even worse for Ousamequin and the Wampanoag was that they were now vulnerable to the Narragansett, who had been spared this plague.

Alliance With the English

Ousamequin was conflicted about the English of the *Mayflower* who landed on Cape Cod in November 1620 and then settled at the site of Patuxet. Many Wampanoag, particularly those of Cape Cod and the islands who had long suffered European raiding and slaving, favored wiping out the newcomers. It did not help the Pilgrims' case that they introduced themselves by ransacking several vacant Wampanoag summer villages, including stealing a load of seed corn, desecrating some graves, and then engaging in a shoot-out with Wampanoag bowmen.

At the same time, Ousamequin saw value in these outsiders. The Wampanoag would clearly benefit if they could employ firearms, metal weaponry, and even English soldiers against the Narragansett. Establishing control over the flow of English trade goods might even enable Ousamequin to maintain the loyalty of Wampanoag communities at risk of defecting to the Narragansett. Ultimately, he concluded that engaging these strangers was worth the risk given the alternative of subjugation to the Narragansett.

Ousamequin first visited Plymouth in the early spring of 1621 after closely observing the

EXCHANGING GOODS

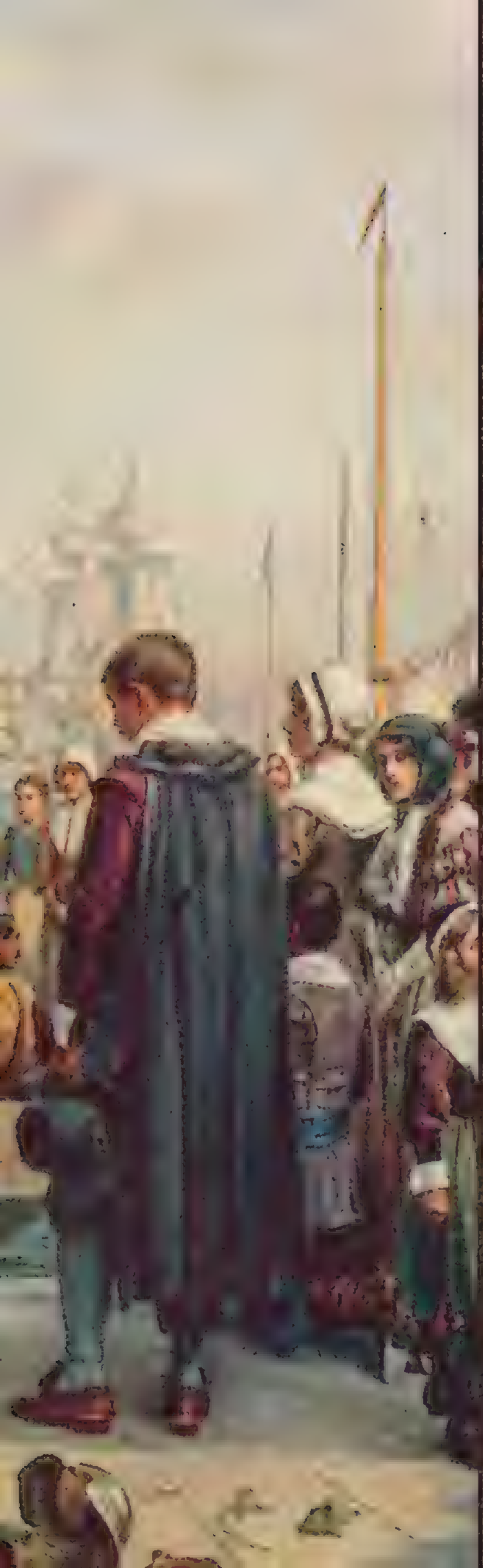
English colonists in North America traded with Native Americans, as shown in this engraving of John Guy with the Beothuk people in Newfoundland (above), created in 1634 by Matthäus Merian.

VIRGINIA MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND CULTURE

THE *MAYFLOWER* AWAITS

After leaving England in the early 1600s, the Pilgrims first settled in Holland, but left in 1620 to sail to North America, as depicted in this work after a painting by Bernard Gribble.

MARY EVANS/AGE FOTOSTOCK



FOLLOWING THEIR FAITH

WHO WERE THE PILGRIMS?

KNOWN TO AMERICANS AS "THE PILGRIMS," many of the 102 passengers on the *Mayflower* were reformed Protestants, known as Separatists, who left their homeland when they broke with the Church of England. Under the only legal form of Christianity in the country, power flowed down from the king, through the archbishops and bishops he appointed, and then to the ministers they appointed. All Englishmen and Englishwomen belonged to the church regardless of their religiosity or conduct (except for the most egregious sinners). To Separatists, the Church of England was not a true church.

THE SEPARATISTS' FUNDAMENTAL disagreement with the Church of England rested on two principles. First, they believed that every congregation should be completely self-governing and consist only of believers dedicated to participation in a religious community. The congregation itself, not any outside authority, would choose its ministers, run its own services, determine its membership, and discipline its members. Separatists entrusted their congregations with these responsibilities because they limited membership to "visible saints," people who had evinced through word and deed that they were among the few precious souls God had chosen for salvation.

THEIR OTHER ISSUE WAS THAT the Church of England retained too many features of the Catholic Church, which distracted from the focus of their services: a biblically based sermon. Anything that diverted attention from it had to go. Their meetinghouses and ministerial outfits must be austere—without stained glass, statues, incense, crucifixes, or priestly vestments.

THE SEPARATISTS ALSO FEARED that continuing to adhere to the Church of England's wooden rites was dangerous. Separatists had no liturgies or set prayers, for they thought that these rote exercises deadened the spirit. Instead, the Separatists favored "prophecying," in which congregants shared extemporaneous thoughts about their faith and asked questions about the sermon. They certainly did not want government interference in what ministers and the laity might say in service. Staying in England while being critical of the state religion was dangerous, so the Separatists relocated to Leiden, Holland, between 1607 and 1608. The community stayed there for 12 years before departing for North America in 1620.

SEPARATISTS DIVERGED FROM THEIR reformed Protestant compatriots, the Puritans, who went on to found the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven. Puritans subscribed in principle to the goal of trying to "purify" the Church of England from within, though in practice they bucked its authority in ways great and small. Otherwise, Puritans and Separatists agreed about most particulars, especially once they lived in the Colonies, free from the shadow of the king's ecclesiastical authorities.

CHAIR AND DUTCH CRADLE, BROUGHT TO NORTH AMERICA BY THE PILGRIMS ON THE *MAYFLOWER*

LOOK AND LEARN/BRIDGEMAN.CO

COLORFUL KERNELS OF INDIAN CORN WERE A STAPLE AMONG THE NATIVE AMERICANS IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND.

CHUCK PEFLEY/ALAMY

colony for months. Fortunately, he had the services of two English-speaking Indians, Tisquantum and Samoset (an Abenaki who had learned English from European fishermen). Through their strained translations, Ousamequin and the Pilgrims reached an agreement of mutual defense and trade, followed months later by the English sending a delegation to Ousamequin's village. To the English, this alliance was the first glimmer of hope that their weak colony might survive. Little did they know that Ousamequin's position was also fragile.

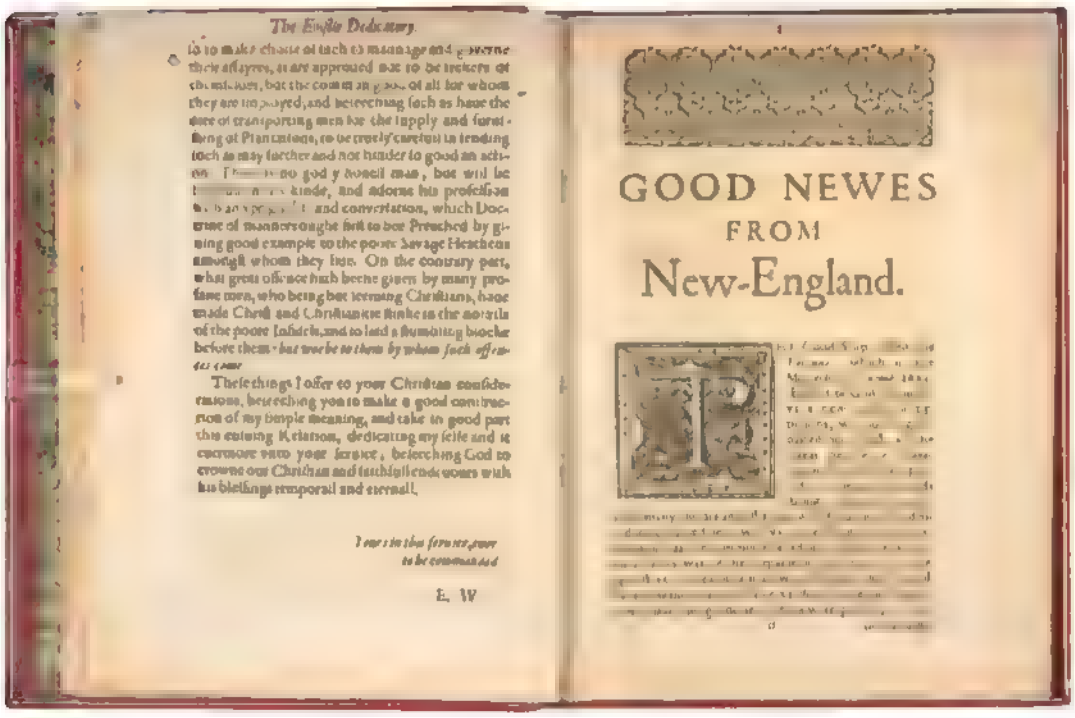
Ousamequin would not have reached out to the English without a base of support, but he still faced opposition to his policy from within the Wampanoag ranks. In the summer of 1621, a dissident Wampanoag sachem named Corbitant, backed by other leaders from Cape Cod and the islands, threatened Ousamequin's life and briefly took Tisquantum captive. The English, in what amounted to the first real test of the alliance, rushed to Ousamequin's defense and helped put out this fire. The question remained not if but when it would flare up again.

It was in this charged context that the so-called first Thanksgiving took place. Contrary to popular tellings, it did not involve inherently friendly Indians attending a formal dinner at the invitation of the English and then granting them their lands. Rather, 90 Wampanoag men led by Ousamequin showed up unexpectedly at Plymouth in the fall of 1621 upon hearing the colonists' celebratory gunfire to mark their first successful harvest. The Wampanoag had rushed to the colony's defense out of fear that it was under Narragansett attack. They wound up staying for what turned into an impromptu state dinner. Neither group appears to have attributed much significance to this occasion, though it certainly strengthened their relationship.

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

Pilgrim leader Edward Winslow's *Good Newes From New England* (below) provides a valuable record of the interactions with Massasoit and the Wampanoag.

BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD/ BRIDGEMAN/AC



The Epistle Dedicatory.

GOOD NEWES
FROM
New-England.

Challenges to the Alliance

They would need it, for stark challenges to this partnership remained. By the next spring, Ousamequin had grown alienated from Plymouth because it refused his demand to turn over Tisquantum, who had been trying to draw off Ousamequin's followers with the threat that he could control the English and their diseases. It took Tisquantum dying of an unknown ailment in November 1622 to defuse this crisis, but Ousamequin's resentment lingered. He regained his trust of Plymouth months later only after Plymouth's Edward Winslow doctored him through a bout of what was likely the same disease that killed Tisquantum.

INDIAN CORN

MAIZE IN MASSACHUSETTS

Ears of dried colorful Indian corn are popular decorations during American Thanksgiving, but scholars are still debating when southern New England Indians began growing corn, or maize. Until fairly recently, many archaeologists doubted whether they raised corn at all until the 1500s and even the early 1600s. One explanation was that New England Indians took up farming so they could remain on the coast for longer periods of time and await the arrival of European trading vessels filled with coveted goods. More recent evidence of earlier maize cultivation is being found at sites dating as far back as 700 years. A discovery of the remains of a Narragansett village from 1300 to 1500 contained scores of maize kernels as well as corn hills and underground storage pits. It now appears that southern New England Indians were growing maize, as well as beans and squash, at least two centuries before their contact with Europeans.

Ousamequin signaled his ongoing friendship by sharing the alarming news that a group of Wampanoag and Massachusett sachems were plotting to wipe out Plymouth and an English fur trade post on Massachusetts Bay. He urged the English to assassinate two Massachusett sachems, who he claimed were the ringleaders. The Pilgrims readily obliged, which, as Ousamequin undoubtedly had anticipated, terrified the Wampanoag who been challenging his rule. Afterward, the dissident sachems came into Plymouth one by one to proclaim their alliance. More important to Ousamequin, henceforth they deferred to his leadership and paid him tribute.

Ousamequin's gamble of aligning with Plymouth produced mixed results. In the short term, it had the desired effect of achieving Wampanoag independence from the Narragansett, enriching his followers with English goods, and consolidating his authority. In the long term, however, the consequences were disastrous. The migration of several thousand Englishmen to the newly formed Massachusetts Bay Colony between 1629 and 1640 spilled over into Plymouth Colony and generated constant pressure on the Wampanoag to cede land.

Ousamequin sold the English huge tracts of territory in the mistaken expectation that they would respect the Wampanoag Indians' continued use of the land and his jurisdiction. By the time he realized his error, the English already outnumbered the Wampanoag and controlled most of their country. Meanwhile, the Wampanoag of Cape Cod and the islands began hosting English missionaries despite Ousamequin's outspoken opposition to Christianity, which they then parlayed into cutting off their tribute payments to Ousamequin's sons and successors, Wamsutta and Pumetacom.

The sachem was reluctant to push back too forcefully because the English had responded to provocations by the Pequot in 1636–37 by massacring hundreds of those people and enslaving the survivors. It had taken barely 20 years before it was apparent that Ousamequin's alliance with Plymouth had been a Trojan horse for an English invasion.

TISQUANTUM'S PLOT

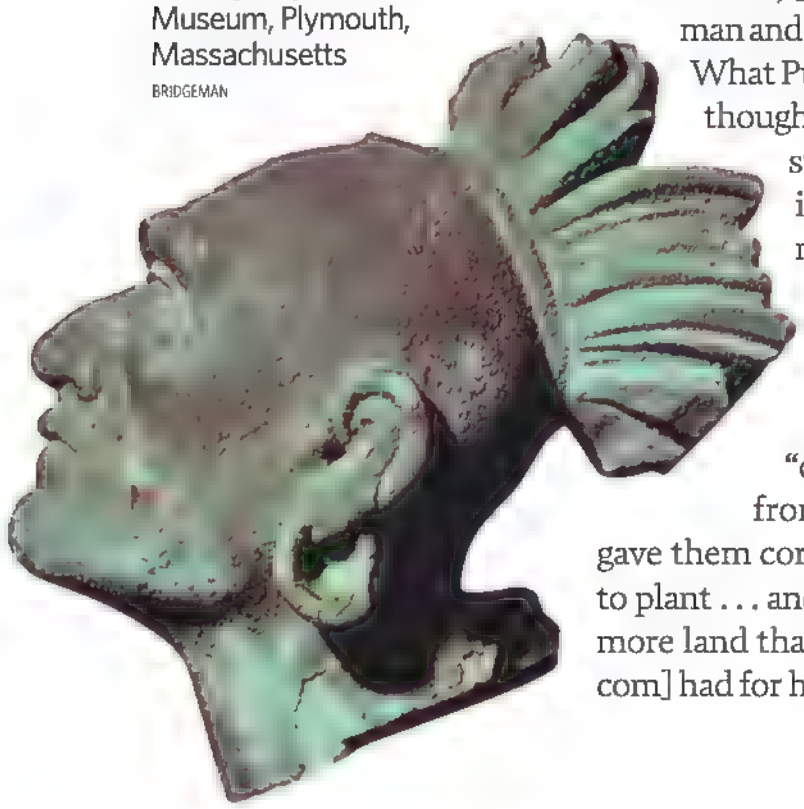
VOICE OF EXPERIENCE

Access to the English granted power to whomever had it, and Tisquantum (Squanto) may have been plotting to take it from Ousamequin. Plymouth's own records suggest as much. The English believed Tisquantum sought to "make himself great in the eyes of his countrymen . . . not caring who fell, so he stood." He also seemed to have wanted Native people to think "he could lead us to peace or war, at his pleasure." Through these machinations, he extracted gifts from a number of local sachems "to work their peace," which had been the role of Ousamequin. Some historians have dismissed Tisquantum as an opportunist, but perhaps he grasped, as only he could, the long-term danger posed by Europeans. He had traveled to European cities and possessed firsthand knowledge of how greed, religion, and technology not only propelled them across the oceans but also equipped them to sustain struggles against Indigenous adversaries. Tisquantum might have thought his experience better prepared him than Ousamequin—or anyone else—to lead his people in the face of this challenge.

SURVIVOR

A wooden bust of Tisquantum (below) is the only remnant of a larger sculpture fashioned around 1880 to commemorate the Pilgrims' landing. Pilgrim Hall Museum, Plymouth, Massachusetts

BRIDGEMAN



Ousamequin's Afterlife

After Ousamequin died in 1661, his sons began forging an anticolonial military alliance of Indian peoples, including the Narragansett. When asked to explain why, Pumetacom, whom the English called King Philip, evoked the memory of his father. He recalled that "when the English first came, [Ousamequin] was a great man and the English as a little child." What Pumetacom meant was that though the Wampanoag were far stronger than the colonists initially, Ousamequin did not exploit this advantage. Instead, "he had been the first in doing good to the English," as if he were their father. After all, he "constrained other Indians from wronging the English, gave them corn, and showed them how to plant . . . and let them have 100 times more land than now the king [Pumetacom] had for his own people."

Ousamequin's protection had enabled the English to grow from a proverbial little child to a great man in just 50 years, but they did not return the favor. Instead, they pushed the Wampanoag toward landlessness, servitude, and subjection. In 1675 Pumetacom, his people, and their Native allies chose to fight rather than accept this fate, in what became known as King Philip's War. The English, with a great deal of Native assistance, won this contest and did indeed subjugate the Indian survivors, many of whose ancestors remain in southern New England to this day. If Ousamequin could have known this result, he certainly would have chosen another path.

DAVID J. SILVERMAN IS A PROFESSOR AT GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, AND AUTHOR OF *THIS LAND IS THEIR LAND: THE WAMPANOAG INDIANS, PLYMOUTH COLONY, AND THE TROUBLED HISTORY OF THANKSGIVING.*

Learn more

This Land Is Their Land: The Wampanoag Indians, Plymouth Colony, and the Troubled History of Thanksgiving
David J. Silverman
Bloomsbury Publishing, New York, 2019

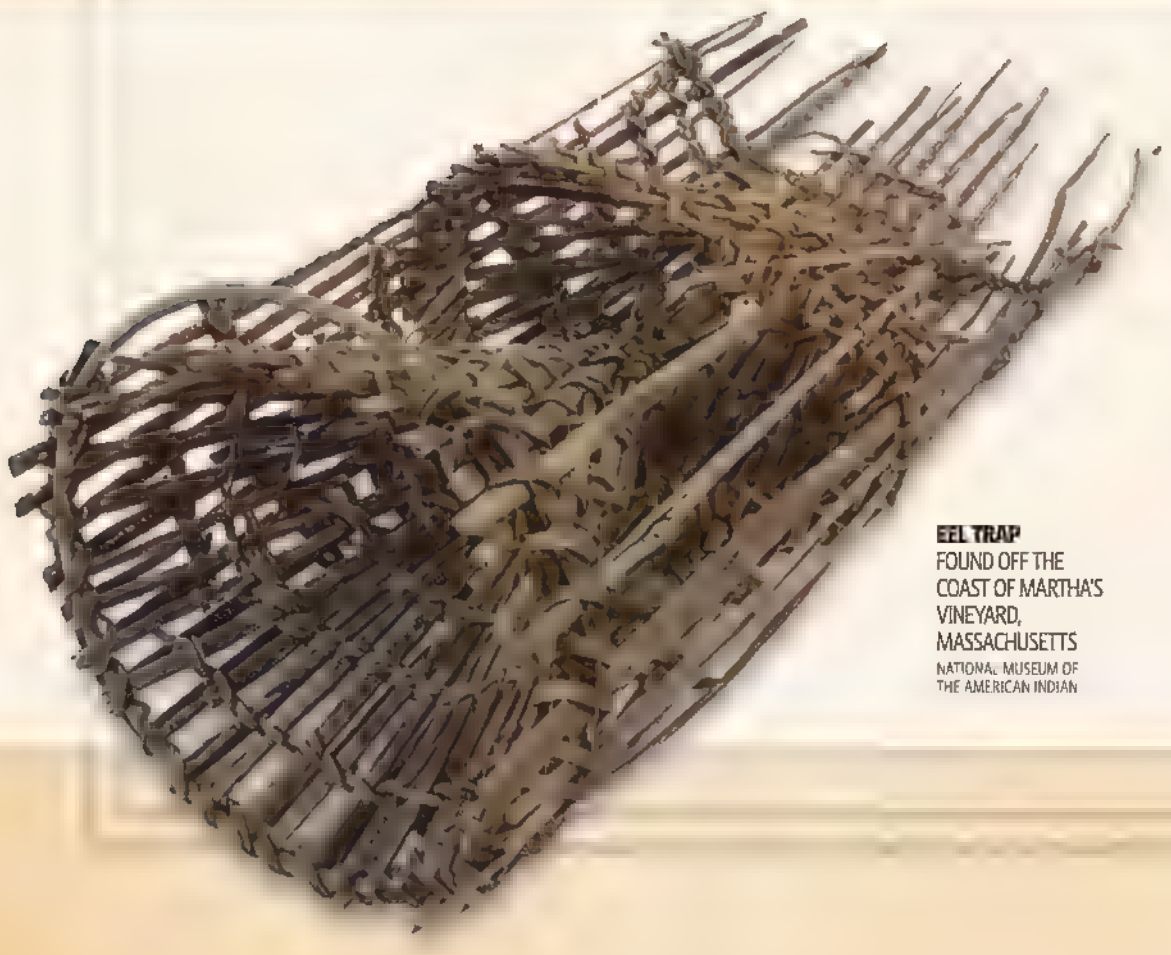
RESTING PLACE
Dedicated in 2017, a monument to Ousamequin sits above his remains. Burrs Hill, Warren, Rhode Island.
AL PEIRCE/TRASHPADDLER

WHILE MEMORIES OF THIS LAND
SPARK THE FIRES OF HIS SPIRIT
LET THE SMOKE RISE IN
PRAYERFUL RESPECT TO
WAMPANOAG MASSASOIT
8SÂMEEQAN YELLOW FEATHER
ESTEEMED LEADER OF THE
WAMPANOAG NATION
HIS VISION AND 1621 TREATY
UPHELD FIFTY-FOUR YEARS
OF PEACE WITH EARLY
ENGLISH SETTLERS

GIVING THANKS FOR

Big meals are the hallmark of the modern American Thanksgiving, and several "traditional" dishes (such as turkey, mashed potatoes, and pumpkin pie) are often served. The menu of the very first "Turkey Day" marked by the Pilgrims and the Wampanoag in 1621 looked very different from today. The main course probably included turkey and wild other game and seafood. Instead of potatoes, which were not indigenous to North America, Indian corn would have been served. The English had spent much of the previous year trading for and raising maize; they had likely begun preparing their own versions of a Wampanoag dish called *nasaump*, consisting of boiled cornmeal mixed with vegetables, fruits, or meats. For dessert, there were no pies, as the colonists did not have butter, wheat flour, or sugar. The English might have served fruits, for Edward Winslow noted, "here are grapes, white and red, and very sweet and strong also. Strawberries, gooseberries, raspas [raspberries], etc. Plums of three sorts."

DUGOUT CANOE THE WAMPANOAG RELIED ON THESE BOATS, CALLED MISHOONS, FOR TRANSPORTATION. PRISMA/ALBUM

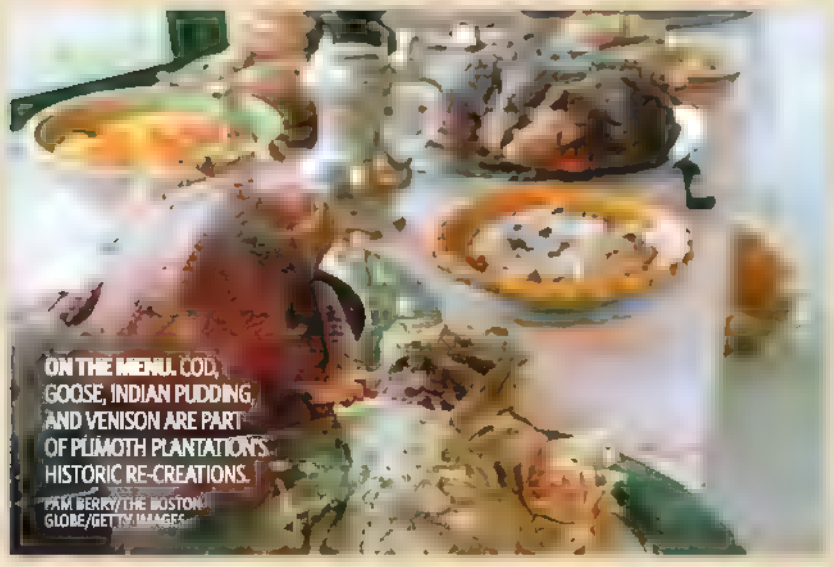


EEL TRAP FOUND OFF THE COAST OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD, MASSACHUSETTS NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

OCEAN'S BOUNTY

Living so close to the water, the Wampanoag were skilled at harvesting local seafood and taught their skills to the Pilgrims. At the first Thanksgiving, there was certainly fish aplenty, including cod and bass, "of which every family had their portion," and shellfish such as clams, mussels, oysters, lobsters, scallops, and crabs. There also would have been eels, for according to Winslow, "in September we can take a hogshead of eels in a night, with small labor, and can dig them out of their beds all the winter"—another survival skill Tisquantum had taught them.

FISH AND FOWL



ON THE MENU. COD, GOOSE, INDIAN PUDDING, AND VENISON ARE PART OF PLIMOTH PLANTATION'S HISTORIC RE-CREATIONS.

PAM BERRY/THE BOSTON GLOBE/GETTY IMAGES

SHELLFISH. THE THANKSGIVING FEAST INCLUDED MUSSELS AND CLAMS.

PAT GREENHOUSE/ THE BOSTON GLOBE/GETTY IMAGES

MAIN COURSES

THE SPREAD at the first Thanksgiving probably was very diverse and consisted of more than just one main course. Turkey (below) was a likely candidate as these birds were abundant in the area at the time. Records from Plymouth show that men sent "fowling" had brought back enough to feed the people for nearly a week. Their catch likely included wild turkey and "water fowl" such as ducks and geese, which "began to come in store . . . as winter approached." Another target for the English hunters was deer. Venison, roasted or stewed, also would have been on the table in 1621, given that it appears on William Bradford's inventory of the colony's larders that season.

SHUTTERSTOCK

SINKER
A ROCK AND STRING WERE USED TO CATCH FISH IN THE WATERS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

FISHING NET
A WAMPANOAG SCOOP NET FASHIONED AROUND 1915

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

FISHHOOK
IRON FISHHOOKS BOUND WITH TWINE FROM COASTAL MASSACHUSETTS

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Dame of Thrones: The Lady of Baza

The 1971 discovery of a limestone statue of a regal woman on a winged throne thrilled Spanish archaeologists, hungry for more insights into the mysterious ancient Iberian people who once lived in southern Spain.

North of the small city of Baza in southern Spain lies a pre-Roman necropolis known as Cerro del Santuario. In 1971 it was being excavated and one July morning, under the blaze of the Andalusian sun, a worker's tool struck something hard. It appeared to be a colored rock, but when archaeologist Francisco José Presedo came to look he saw something intriguing. As more earth was cleared away, the face of a woman emerged, finally seeing the light after nearly 2,500 years underground.

Known today as the Lady of Baza, this four-foot-high limestone sculpture depicts a bejeweled woman, richly dressed and seated on a winged throne. Once vividly painted, the work still bears traces of pigments, including a rosy blush on the cheeks and red-and-white squares along the border of her cloak. Inside a compartment in the right side, cremated human remains were found, confirming the Lady of Baza's role as a funeral urn, dated to around 380 B.C.

The Lady of Baza resembles other carved stone female figures found elsewhere in Spain, such as the Lady of Elche, a similar artifact discovered in 1897. The two statues were both once richly painted and adorned with Iberian attire, headdresses, earrings, and necklaces.

These objects were products of the pre-Roman people, the Iberians, a culture that is still shrouded in considerable mystery. With her elaborate adornments, however, the Lady of Baza presented researchers with intriguing clues as to who was entombed in her body.

The statue's details also link the Iberians to other cultures around the Mediterranean, including the Romans and the Carthaginians. The Iberians' homeland became embroiled in the struggle between these two powers a century after the Lady of Baza was carved.

Mystery Culture

Writers in antiquity referred to people who lived across a swath of what is now Spain as Iberians. Archaeologists, however, use the term in a stricter sense to mean the original Bronze Age peoples in that region.

They were descended

SEATED on a winged throne, the colorful Lady of Baza was found in Chamber Tomb 155 at an Iberian necropolis in Baza, Spain. The piece was sculpted in the early fourth century B.C.

ORONOZ/ALBUM

LADY OF ELCHE, FOURTH-CENTURY B.C. IBERIAN FUNERARY STATUE. NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, MADRID
ORONOZ/ALBUM

ca 1000 B.C.
Iberian culture begins to flourish as trading routes are established with Phoenician and Greek cities.

4th cent. B.C.
The Iberian people create colorful limestone female busts and statues out of that bear signs of Phoenician influences.

3rd cent. B.C.
Carthage begins to expand into Iberian territory after being defeated by Rome in the First Punic War

2nd cent. B.C.
Following the end of the Second Punic War, Rome moves into Hispania, and Iberian culture will disappear.

OWNERSHIP QUESTIONS

THE LADY OF BAZA'S DISCOVERY provoked emotional reactions from all over Spain. Locals were reported to kneel before her, believing her to be a depiction of the Virgin Mary, but government officials and the financier of the excavation broke out into a fight over ownership of the sculpture. The state prevailed, and the statue was moved to the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid, where she was welcomed by museum officials (below).

EFE

from a culture known as the Argar, a hierarchical, chiefled society that collapsed in around 1500 B.C. Starting around 1000 B.C., the new, complex Iberian society began to emerge. Like their Argar forebears they were skilled in metalworking, and became rich by trading with merchants from the eastern Mediterranean.

Celtic newcomers pushed into north, west, and central parts of Spain starting in the eighth century B.C. They mingled with the local Iberian population and created a hybrid "Celtiberian" culture. The Celts, however, did not penetrate the arid hillsides of the southeastern Mediterranean coast, which retained higher concentrations of the original Iberian population.

The Celts' speech is of Indo-European origin (as are 445 of the world's languages), but not much is known about the origins of the Iberians' mother tongue. Inscriptions in Iberian script have been discovered and bear some resemblance to the Phoenician alphabet, but much of the way the Iberian language works is unknown, leaving scholars heavily dependent on archaeology for gathering information on ancient Iberians and their culture.

Of all the Iberian tribes in the southeast, one seems to have been the most influential around the fourth and third centuries B.C. The Romans later named them Bastetani for Basti, the town that was their capital. Known today as Baza, it's where the Lady of Baza was found nearly 50 years ago.

Learning From the Lady

Iberian scholars consider that the cremated remains in the Lady of Baza's side are those of an aristocratic local Bastetani woman who died around 380 B.C.

Iberian statuary is notable for elaborate, detailed ornamentation. These chunky earrings feature delicate tassels.
Four chokers are draped around her neck. A longer necklace features pendants in the shape of amphorae, which are seen on other Iberian statues, such as the Lady of Elche.
An elaborate headdress crowns the figure, whose black hair peeks out from underneath. Painted above her eyes are traces of eyelashes.
Five rings adorn the fingers of the left hand, which still bears pink pigment. Nestled here is a pigeon, once blue, representing the goddess Tanit.
Bracelets adorn the wrists of the lady's right arm.

Bejeweled

DISCOVERED IN 1971, the Lady of Baza joined the ranks of opulently colored and bejeweled female Iberian statuary. A century before, the Iberian Lady of Elche was discovered, and presumed to be a bust. However, based on studies of the Baza find, some scholars believe the Lady of Elche may have been a funerary monument as well, or part of a larger statue that also included a throne.

ASF/ALBUM

Exclusive Christmas Trees and Holiday Decor

The World's Best
Prelit Noble Fir

Special Offer
$20 OFF
any purchase of
$99 or more
use code JOY20
by 12/15/20

The Cordless Prelit Poinsettia
And Ribbon Holiday Trim

The Cordless Twinkling Chair Back Sleeves

The Giant Holiday Classic Character Lawn Inflatables

16 ft.
Snoopy

8' Inflatable
Misfit Toys

15 ft.
Rudolph

18 ft.
Grinch

Hammacher Schlemmer

Guaranteeing the Best, the Only, and the Unexpected for 172 years.

www.hammacher.com | 1-866-409-5548

GRAVE GOODS
from the Lady of Baza's Iberian tomb date to the early fourth century B.C.
Painted ceramic bowl
Fragments of an iron Iberian sword
Painted ceramic vessel
Oval amphora in the Phoenician style
Iron belt buckle
A.I. PHOTOS BY ÁNGEL MARTÍNEZ. EVAS/MAN. EXCEPT IBER AN SWORD: ARANTXA BOYERO. RÖN/MAN

Unlike other female funerary sculptures found in Spain, which had at some stage been moved from their original burial sites, the Lady of Baza was discovered in situ. The figure was originally attached to the northern wall of a square chamber tomb in the necropolis, some six feet underground.

Various offerings had been deposited in front of her: ceramic vessels with polychrome decorations and metal weapons. Whoever she was, she was important: The objects at her feet emphasize her high status. These artifacts also bear stylistic influences of the Greek and Phoenician peoples with whom the Iberians traded.

Both throne and figure are carved from a single block of stone, coated with a layer of plaster, and painted several different colors: blue, red, black, and white. Scholars believe the figure's face could be a realistic depiction of the deceased, but there is no real way to tell.

The statue's iconography reveals the influence of a powerful outside culture. When the Baza lady was alive, Iberian wealth depended on a powerful new trading center created in North Africa by Phoenicians. They had named their capital Carthage, which in Phoenician means "the new city."

Carthaginian influence manifested on the Lady of Baza's spiritual purpose. Her winged throne alludes to a goddess, as does the pigeon she holds in her left hand. Scholars believe these avian symbols refer to the Phoenician deity Tanit, a mother goddess and chief deity in the western Mediterranean. In the fourth century B.C., the cult of Tanit was central to Carthage.

Beginning in 264 B.C., Carthage began expanding into Spain during a series of wars with Rome but was eventually pushed out by their foes in 206. The Iberian peninsula gradually fell under Roman control. As Rome's influence grew in the region, the local Iberian culture and its ancient language began to disappear.

Today, the Lady of Baza is exhibited in Spain's National Archaeological Museum in Madrid. Along with the Lady of Elche and other gems, she is an important piece in the increased understanding of ancient Iberia.

—Benjamin Collado

Secrets of a Billionaire Revealed

"Price is what you pay; value is what you get. Whether we're talking about socks or stocks, I like buying quality merchandise when it is marked down."

– wisdom from the most successful investor of all time

We're going to let you in on a secret. Billionaires have billions because they know value is not increased by an inflated price. They avoid big name markups, and aren't swayed by flashy advertising. When you look on their wrist you'll find a classic timepiece, not a cry for attention— because they know true value comes from keeping more money in their pocket.

We agree with this thinking wholeheartedly. And, so do our two-and-a-half million clients. It's time you got in on the secret too. The ***Jet-Setter Chronograph*** can go up against the best chronographs in the market, deliver more accuracy and style than the "luxury" brands, and all for far, far less. $1,150 is what the ***Jet-Setter Chronograph*** would cost you with nothing more than a different name on the face.

With over two million timepieces sold (and counting), we know a thing or two about creating watches people love. The ***Jet-Setter Chronograph*** gives you what you need to master time and keeps the superfluous stuff out of the equation. A classic in the looks department and a stainless steel power tool of construction, this is all the watch you need. And, then some.

Your satisfaction is 100% guaranteed. Experience the ***Jet-Setter Chronograph*** for 30 days. If you're not convinced you got excellence for less, send it back for a refund of the item price.

Time is running out. Now that the secret's out, we can't guarantee this **$39** chronograph will stick around long. Don't overpay to be underwhelmed. Put a precision chronograph on your wrist for **just $39** and laugh all the way to the bank. Call today!

CLIENTS LOVE STAUER WATCHES...

★★★★★

"The quality of their watches is equal to many that can go for ten times the price or more."

— Jeff from McKinney, TX

Absolute best price for a fully-loaded chronograph with precision accuracy...

ONLY $39!

Limited to the first 1900 responders to this ad only.

"See a man with a functional chronograph watch on his wrist, and it communicates a spirit of precision." **— AskMen.com®**

TAKE 87% OFF INSTANTLY!

When you use your OFFER CODE

Jet-Setter Chronograph ~~$299†~~

Offer Code Price **$39** + S&P **Save $260**

You must use the offer code to get our special price.

1-800-333-2045

ACCREDITED BUSINESS BBB Rating of A+

CONSUMER AFFAIRS ACCREDITED

Your Offer Code: JCW339-02

Please use this code when you order to receive your discount.

Stauer...Afford the Extraordinary.®

• Precision crystal movement • Stainless steel case back & bracelet with deployment buckle • 24 hour military time
• Chronograph minute & small second subdials; seconds hand • Water resistant to 3 ATM • Fits wrists 7" to 9"

Stauer® 14101 Southcross Drive W., Ste 155, Dept. JCW339-02, Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 www.stauer.com

† Special price only for customers using the offer code versus the price on Stauer.com without your offer code.

Next Issue

ATHENA HELPS ACHILLES SLAY HECTOR IN PETER PAUL RUBENS' 1630 PAINTING. MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS, PAU, FRANCE
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

CLASH OF THE CHAMPIONS

***THE ILIAD* CLIMAXES** as the Trojan War's greatest heroes—the Greek demigod Achilles and Trojan prince Hector—fight to the death on the battlefield. Homer's epic poem focuses on the details of the men's arms and armor—Hector's "shining helmet" and the golden gear of Achilles fashioned for him by the gods. Reflected in these colorful details are the martial realities of the Bronze Age, a time when powers rose and fell against the clanging background of new weaponry.

NAPOLEON IN EGYPT

FRANCE'S 1798 military invasion of Egypt was a failure, ending in defeat by the British three years later, but its contribution to history is incalculable. Along with his soldiers, Napoleon brought to Egypt an army of scholars who measured, sketched, and documented everything they could about ancient Egyptian culture. Their work helped gave birth to the field of Egyptology, the process of studying this ancient civilization in a methodical, scientific way.

NAPOLEON AND THE SPHINX, DETAIL OF AN ENGRAVING OF A 19TH-CENTURY PAINTING BY JEAN-LÉON GÉRÔME
AKG/ALBUM

The Lost Civilization of Jiroft

Floods in 2001 revealed the presence of an undetected civilization in southeastern Iran. The ancient graves of Jiroft led archaeologists to an ancient urban center whose origins go back to the fifth millennium B.C., making Jiroft a possible contender as one of the world's oldest civilizations.

Kings of the Road

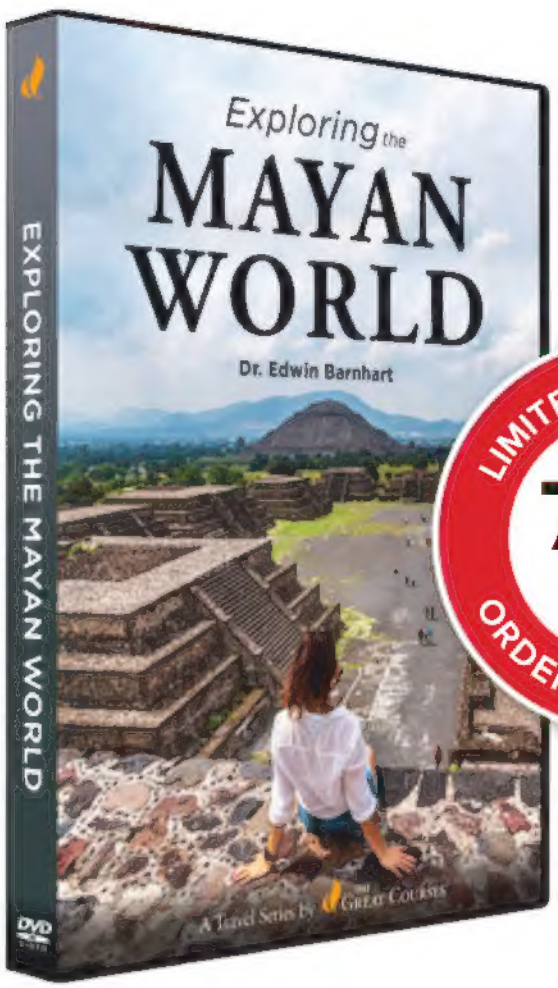
Ancient Rome is famous for its vast network of roads, of which 50,000 miles were paved for military transport. Exhaustively maintained and patrolled, this transportation network linked different parts of the empire together, connecting the lands of Spain and France with North Africa, the Levant, and Turkey.

The Opium Wars

In the mid-1800s the Qing dynasty attempted to stamp out opium addiction in China, a move that enraged Britain, who controlled cultivation of the drug. In 1842, Britain's gunships forced the Qing to abandon efforts to halt the opium trade, pay heavy fees to the British, and concede the territory of Hong Kong.

THE GREAT COURSES®

NEW TRAVEL SERIES



LIMITED TIME OFFER
70% off
ORDER BY JANUARY 4

Your Field Guide to the Maya World

It's not very often you have an opportunity to accompany an acclaimed archaeologist as he explores ageless cenotes, decodes ancient messages, and speaks with local historians, residents, and artisans.

Visually compelling and unlike anything The Great Courses has produced before, **Exploring the Mayan World** has the intimacy of your favorite travel show. In eight immersive episodes, you will join Dr. Edwin Barnhart, acclaimed archaeologist and director of the Maya Exploration Center, on the adventure of a lifetime as you decode cultural messages hidden in ancient Maya sites; explore the legacy of Spanish interactions with the Maya as they are reflected in modern towns; chat with archaeologists, artisans, and other local experts; and witness the Maya legacy in food, music, fashion, and art.

Offer expires 01/04/21

THEGREATCOURSES.COM/9NGH

1-800-832-2412

Exploring the Mayan World

Taught by Director Edwin Barnhart
MAYA EXPLORATION CENTER

EPISODES

1. Mérida
2. Chichén Itzá
3. Ek' Balam
4. Tihosuco
5. Mayapán
6. Uxmal
7. Celestún
8. Labná

EXPERIENCE THE CULTURE AND WORLD OF THE MAYA AS THEY LIVE TODAY

Exploring the Mayan World
Course no. 30090 | 8 episodes (30 minutes/episode)

SAVE UP TO $160

DVD	~~$199.95~~	**NOW $39.95**
Instant Video	~~$169.95~~	**NOW $29.95**

+$5 Shipping & Processing (DVD only)
and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee
Priority Code: 183686

For over 30 years, The Great Courses has brought the world's foremost educators to millions who want to go deeper into the subjects that matter most. No exams. No homework. Just a world of knowledge available anytime, anywhere. Download or stream to your laptop or PC, or use our free apps for iPad, iPhone, Android, Kindle Fire, or Roku. Over 800 courses available at www.TheGreatCourses.com.

ROSS-SIMONS

fabulous jewelry & great prices for more than 65 years

The new pearl earrings your collection needs

Our best seller is a Ross-Simons exclusive, now in sterling silver. Two cultured freshwater pearls captured between sterling silver hoops add just the right amount of elegance to any look. A fresh take on pearl earrings and a fancy spin on hoops.

$59

Plus Free Shipping

8-9mm Cultured Freshwater Pearl Hoop Earrings

Sterling silver. 1" hanging length. Snap-bar closure.

Also available in black pearl. Item #924729

Shown larger for detail.

Ross-Simons Item **#918266**

To receive this special offer, use offer code: **BEST224**

1.800.556.7376 or visit ross-simons.com/best